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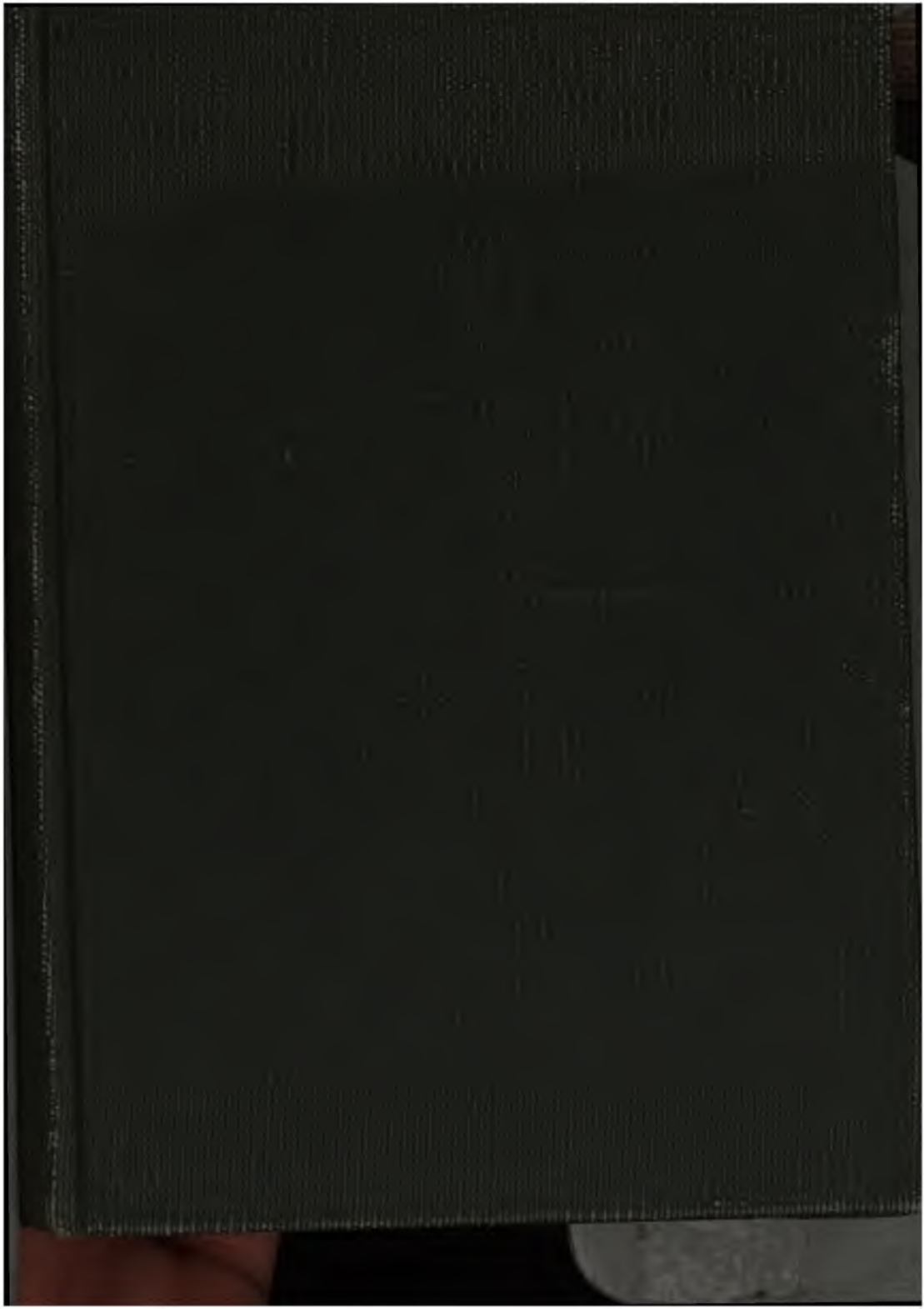

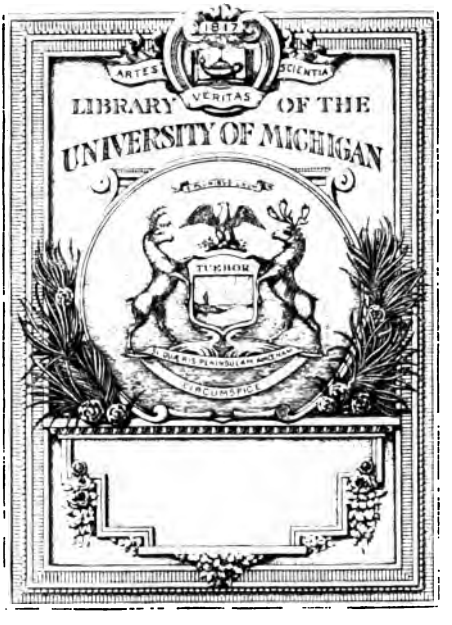
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OF

VIRGINIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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ECONOMIC HISTORY

OF

VIRGINIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

AN INQUIRY INTO THE MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE, BASED UPON ORIGINAL AND CONTEMPORANEOUS RECORDS

BY

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE

AUTHOR OF "THE PLANTATION NEGRO AS A FREEMAN," AND CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME II

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ECONOMIC HISTORY OF VIRGINIA

CHAPTER X

SYSTEM OF LABOR: THE SERVANT — *continued*

THE ordinary indenture was marked by great simplicity. When it was drawn previous to the departure of the servant from England, it named as the consideration for the right to his labor, payment of the cost of transportation, a sufficient quantity of drink, food, and clothing during the continuation of the term, together with lodgings and whatever else was thought to be essential to his livelihood.[1] It was always in the power of those assuming the

[1] For the indenture of an ordinary servant, see Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 57; see also *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 38, Va. State Library. The following is an interesting example of the indenture of a planter's apprentice: "This Indenture made the 6th day of June in the year of our Lord Christ 1659, witnesseth, that Bartholomew Clarke ye Son of John Clarke of the City of Canterbury, Sadler, of his own liking and with ye consent of Francis Plumer of ye City of Canterbury, Brewer, hath put himself apprentice unto Edward Rowzie of Virginia, planter, as an apprentice with him to dwell from ye day of the date above mentioned unto ye full term of four years from thence next ensuing fully to be complete and ended, all which said term the said Bartholomew Clarke well and faithfully the said Edward Rowzie as his master shall serve, his secrets keep, his commands most just and lawful he shall observe, and fornication he shall not commit, nor contract matrimony with any woman during the said term, he shall not do hurt unto his master, nor consent to ye doing of any, but to his power shall hinder and prevent ye doing of any;

obligations of an instrument of this character by mutual consent to insert unusual conditions as to what was to be done by either party for the special advantage of the other before or during its operation and at the expiration of the time which it covered. Thus the servant, in entering into covenants with a merchant or shipmaster engaged in the Virginian trade, could insist upon the privilege of having the interval of a fortnight at least in which to make inquiries concerning the characters of the different plant-

at cards, dice or any unlawful games he shall not play; he shall not waste the goods of his said master nor lend them to anybody without his master's consent, he shall not absent himself from his said master's service day or night, but as a true and faithful servant, shall demean himself, and the said Edward Rowzie in ye mystery, art, and occupation of a planter which now . . . the best manner he can, the said Bartholomew shall teach or cause to be taught, and also during said term shall find and allow his apprentice competent meat, drink, apparel, washing, lodging with all other things fitting for his degree and in the end thereof, fifty acres of land to be laid out for him, and all other things which according to the custom of the country is or ought to be done." *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1664–1673, p. 21, Va. State Library. The following is an indenture drawn up for a female servant: "This Indenture made the Second of Jany in ye year 1686 between John Porter of ye one party, and Samuel Polly of ye other party, both of ye County of Henrico in James River in manner and form following, witnesseth, that ye said John Porter doth covenant, grant and agree to and with ye s^{d} Sam^{ll} Polly to take his daughter Mary Polly for ye full end and term of ten years from ye 1st month September in ye year 1685, In consideration ye s^{d} John Porter shall use or maintain ye s^{d} Mary noe other ways than he doth his own in all things as dyett, cloathing and lodging, the s^{d} Mary to obey the s^{d} John Porter in all his lawful commands within ye s^{d} term of years above menc̃oned as also att ye full end and term of years that ye s^{d} John Porter doth bind himself his executors or administrators to pay unto ye said Mary Polly, three barrells of corn and one suit of penistone and one suit of good serge with one black hood, two shifts of dowlas and shoes and hose convenient. And ye said Sam^{l} Polly doth assure and bind firmly his s^{d} daughter to ye said Porter for ye full end of ten years by these presents whereunto both the s^{d} partyes have set their hands." *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 424, Va. State Library.

ers and then of disposing of himself to the one he should select.[1]

Both master and servant could protect themselves from every form of encroachment upon each other. It was, for instance, in the power of the master to require that the servant should pay double the value of the labor of every day he lost for avoidable causes, and if this happened to be in the harvest time, the sum was to be increased by ten. On the other hand, the servant might covenant that he should not be compelled to plant and tend to more than two hundred weight of tobacco during any one year, this being a much smaller task than was usually imposed upon individuals of his class.[2]

Many controversies arose between masters and servants who had been introduced without indentures, as to the time when their terms ought to expire, and this led to the passage of a large number of important acts. The rule which prevailed at first was that every member of the latter class who had been imported into Virginia without written covenants, should be bound for a period of four years if his age was in excess of twenty-one, five if he was under twenty, and seven if under twelve.[3] The provisions of this statute were substantially modified in 1654 so far as aliens were involved. When the latter had come in without indentures, they were required, if more than sixteen years old, to remain in the employment of the planter to whom they were assigned, for a term of six years. If the person in question was under sixteen, this term was extended until he had attained his twenty-fourth year.[4] It was found that this law worked to the disadvantage of

[1] Leah and Rachel, p. 11, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.
[2] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 63.
[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 257.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 411.

the Colony by retarding its growth in population, the length of service expected of aliens discouraging their emigration to Virginia in the character of laborers. It was decided to place all servants of whatever nationality upon the same footing, no disparaging distinction being allowed in dealing with any class of them.[1]

In the season of 1661–62, an important change was made in the general law that prevailed, by the adoption of the regulation on the same point which had long been in operation in England; it was provided that all servants who were imported without written agreements should be bound for a term of five years if more than sixteen years old, or if less than sixteen, until the completion of the twenty-fourth year.[2] Every master who had introduced a laborer into the Colony or who had purchased one from a merchant or shipowner, there being no indenture in either case, was directed to bring him before the nearest court with a view to having his age adjudged. If the master failed to conform to this general order, the servant, although he may not have attained his twelfth year, was considered to be bound only for the term which would have been required of him if he had been adjudged in court to have passed his sixteenth year. Four months was the limit in which it was permitted to conform to the order of the justices. It was discovered that the law as to length of service in the absence of indentures, operated with great harshness in the case of a youth who had been declared to be only a few months under sixteen, since it compelled him to remain in the employment of his master until his twenty-fourth year, while a companion, whose age was only a few weeks in advance of sixteen years, was in consideration of that

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 539.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 113, 114.

fact called upon to serve only until he was twenty-two. The law was amended in 1666 to the effect that all who were imported without indentures should, if they were nineteen years of age or above, continue with their masters for a term of five years, and if under that age, until the completion of their twenty-fourth year.[1]

It became extremely common for those who had been sold in accord with the custom of the country, to wait very quietly until the persons who had brought them in and the ships in which they had come over, had left for England, and then to advance the claim of having been introduced under indentures which were lost, but which if produced would show that they were bound to serve for a shorter time than was now required of them. To remove the confusion and annoyance arising from this source, it was provided that any one who had presumably been imported without formal covenants, from the fact that he had been disposed of by the custom, should be carried before the nearest justice of the peace, and if it was alleged that he had originally bound himself by a written agreement for a regular term, he was to be allowed one month in which to produce the document, or sufficient evidence of its former existence, and if in that length of time the claim could not be sustained in the manner required, he was to be debarred from urging it a second time.[2]

Whether the servant was bound to a master by an indenture which laid down in the clearest language the full nature of their mutual relations or simply by the custom of the country, he had a legal as well as a moral right to expect that provision would be made for his comfort-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 240; Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 219.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 297.

able existence, in the form of victuals, apparel, and lodging. During the administration of the Company, he subsisted on hominy boiled with milk alone, or with milk, butter, and cheese, or with fish and the flesh of bullocks.[1] He was supplied with a definite quantity of corn by the week, amounting, as a rule, probably to fourteen cans, this being the allowance for that length of time in the case of the servants employed in working the lands of Martin's Hundred.[2] A graphic account of his food and clothing in 1622 has been transmitted to us in a letter written in that year by a young man of this class. The author's spirits at the time of its composition were greatly depressed, but the details which he gives, instead of conveying the impression that the laborers at this period were very meanly situated, rather raises our conception of the advantages which they enjoyed. It should be remembered that the letter bore the date of the year in which the great massacre of the settlers by the Indians occurred, when the losses attending that event and the confusion following it, very naturally produced a condition of extraordinary hardship in the Colony, among masters as well as among servants.[3] In times marked by peace and abundance, such as those immediately preceding the massacre or following it at a long interval, the various articles given the laborer either for subsistence or comfort must have been greater in quantity and better in quality. Richard Frethorne, the author of the letter referred to, declared that his food consisted of peas and loblolly, that is, a mass of gruel, chowder, or spoon meat, with one-fourth of a loaf

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 886.

[2] Examinations, etc., Concerning Demands of Captain Martin, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 36, IV; *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 190, Va. State Library.

[3] Letter of Thomas Best, *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx. p. 41.

of bread and a small piece of beef. This seems to have been the allowance for a single meal. The loaf was most probably Indian corn bread, flour not being easily procurable in that age. Bread made of Indian corn, it should be remembered, is one of the most concentrated forms of nourishment, and one-fourth of a loaf of the ordinary size would be sufficient for an ordinary man. Frethorne makes it plain that he belonged to a higher class than that of the agricultural servant in England — indeed, he appears to have been the son either of a tenant farmer or a small landowner — by seriously lamenting that his master did not give him a penny "to help him to spice, sugar, or strong waters." He prays that his father will send him some cheese. For clothing he stated that he had received one suit, one cap and two bands, and one pair of stockings. Some thief had stolen his cloak.[1] The profound dissatisfaction felt by Frethorne was that of a sensitive mind suffering from homesickness and exposed to unaccustomed conditions. How many workingmen were there in England who would not gladly have exchanged the starvation against which they were constantly contending for the situation in which he was placed? I have already referred to the cases mentioned by Copeland, in which some of the most industrious laborers of London were only able to secure brown bread and cheese for their families.[2] The

[1] The letter will be found in Eighth Report of *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Appx., p. 41. It is reprinted in Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*. Henry Brigg, who was a servant in Virginia during the spring of 1623, writing to his brother in England, said that at this time he was living on a wine-quart of corn a day. *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., p. 42.

[2] The ordinary victuals of an English thatcher, who probably was provided with better food than the common agricultural laborer, was, in 1641, butter, milk, cheese, and either eggs, pies, or bacon. Porridge was sometimes substituted for milk. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, p. 193.

food might have seemed poor and the clothing scant to a youth brought up in an English home of a moderate degree of refinement and with every reasonable comfort, but to the English Hodge, who tilled the fields at the rate of wages prescribed by the justices of the peace, the very lowest which would enable him to earn a subsistence for his family, and in only too many cases not affording him this without the aid of the levy for the benefit of paupers, the provision made for the servant in Virginia in the most frightful year in the history of the Colony does not appear to show that his position was as mean and intolerable as it was represented to be. This was the age in which Henry IV of France had won the lasting gratitude of his countrymen, in expressing the hope that under his administration of the affairs of his kingdom every French peasant would be so prosperous that he could without extravagance have a fowl in the pot on Sunday.[1]

As early as 1661, at a time when the live stock of the Colony were far less numerous then they became in the closing decades of the seventeenth century, it was the custom in York County to give the servants rations of meat at least three times a week.[2] It could not have been many years before this allowance was extended to each day in consequence of the enormous increase in the herds of hogs and horned cattle.

The character of the clothing worn by the servants is shown in an advertisement for the recovery of two runaways, placed on record in York County in 1694. The garments of one consisted in part of a coat, made of frieze, a black hat and a pair of wooden heel shoes; of the other, of a frieze coat, a pair of leather breeches, a cap of

[1] Henry IV of France died in 1610.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 384, Va. State Library.

fur, and a pair of plain shoes. The under linen was of dowlas and lockram.[1]

The author of *Leah and Rachel*, a pamphlet published about the middle of the century, denied very emphatically the correctness of the report prevailing at that time in England that the servants in Virginia were compelled to sleep on boards by the fireplace instead of in comfortable beds. The best indication of the treatment which they received in the way of physical comforts, as he averred, was the general satisfaction expressed by all persons of this class who had been recently imported, a satisfaction which had led them to use their influence with friends and acquaintances in the mother country to induce them to emigrate to the Colony.[2] The author of *Public Good without Private Interest* went so far as to charge the planters with forcing the laborers in their employment to "lie by all the time of their servitude on ash heaps or otherwise to kennel up and down like dogs." If this occurred, it was only in rare cases, for the General Assembly had always shown a remarkable solicitude to furnish every means as a protection for those who

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 118, Va. State Library. Among the items in a statement of Edward Moss of York County, showing his expenditures on account of his servant, Richard Stephens, were the following: for a pair of shoe strings, 3 lbs. of tobacco; for a peniston coat, 60 lbs. of tobacco; for a dowlas shirt, 50 lbs. of tobacco. Vol. 1657–1662, p. 411, Va. State Library. The following from the records of the General Court, Dec. 11, 1640, preserved in a minute in the *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 8, is also of interest: "Whereas William Huddleston, servant unto Mr. Canhow, hath complained to the board against his master for want of all manner of apparel, the court hath, therefore, ordered that the said Canhow shall before Christmas next provide and allow unto the said Huddleston such sufficient apparel of linen and woollen as shall be thought fit by Captain William West or otherwise that the said Captain West shall have power to dispose of the said servant until the said Canhow do perform this order."

[2] Leah and Rachel, p. 12, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

were bound by indenture, being prompted to this line of conduct not only by an impulse of common humanity, but also by a desire to remove every obstacle and repress every influence tending to discourage the growth of population. They were also commanded by the English authorities to suppress all inhuman severity towards servants.[1] The people of Virginia, the author of *Leah and Rachel*, the pamphlet already quoted, remarked, were Christians. While there may have been a disposition on the part of some to overlook the obligations which they had assumed towards their laborers, the enlightened spirit of the laws in this connection proved conclusively that the sentiment of the planters at large was sternly condemnatory of any abridgment of the usual comforts of this class. It was provided that every master should allow his servants sufficient food, clothing, and shelter, and that in inflicting punishment he should be careful not to exceed the bounds of moderation. If the servant had just grounds for thinking that he was deprived of his necessary amount of food, or that the house set apart for him did not furnish a sufficient protection from the weather, or that the correction he received for his negligence was harsher than the character of the offence called for, he possessed the right, which had been expressly granted to him, to enter a complaint with the commissioners of the court for the county in which his master resided. If, upon a hearing, this complaint seemed just, the latter was required to appear at the following session and defend his conduct, and if he failed to show good cause, was compelled to give ample satisfaction for the charges against him.[2] These provi-

[1] Instructions to Culpeper, 1679, *McDonald Papers*, vol. V, p. 318, Va. State Library.

[2] Leah and Rachel, p. 16, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. In April, 1658, Nicholas Smith, a servant of Thomas Brookes, of York

sions, which were well calculated to afford the servant absolute security in the enjoyment of every comfort that he could reasonably claim, were in operation during the remainder of the century, and if in any case he suffered, it was to be attributed to his own supineness and not to any deficiency in the law prescribing the remedy. How great was the solicitude of the General Court to ensure him the amplest protection in all of his rights, is shown in the order passed in 1679–80, which forbade a woman who had proved herself a cruel mistress to have servants in her employment.[1]

The fact that a youthful servant was disposed to run away was often accepted not as an indication of an incorrigible nature but of hard usage. A case of this kind occurred in Lower Norfolk about the middle of the century. A boy had frequently fled from his mistress, Mrs. Deborah Farneshaugh, seeking refuge in his last flight with a Mrs. Lambard. A complaint was filed in the local court in his behalf, and the judges directed that he should remain with Mrs. Lambard until Mrs. Farneshaugh should provide him with food, clothing, and other necessaries, of which it was declared that she had deprived him while in her service. A committee was appointed to enforce the order, and upon the continuation of her ill treatment, her right to hold the boy was summarily withdrawn.[2]

In the code adopted in 1705, which represented the

County, entered a complaint with the justices of the peace that he was badly used by his master. Smith was ordered to remain under the protection of the constable, whilst a summons was issued requiring Brookes to appear before the court on the following day to justify his conduct. Vol. 1657–1662, p. 56, Va. State Library.

[1] General Court Orders, 1677–1682, Sept. 20, 1680, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 265.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 117.

sentiment of the Colony in the closing years of the previous century, a sentiment that so far as the servants were concerned was even more enlightened than it had been forty years before, we find all the details of the original statute reënacted, with some additional provisions which made the regulations on this point still more effective. No master, for instance, was to be permitted to whip a white servant on the naked back without special authority from the court, and in case this order was disregarded, he was to be mulcted twenty shillings. The justices of the peace were, as formerly, to receive the complaints of all persons under articles of indenture as to unwholesome food, inferior clothing, and uncomfortable lodging. If there was good reason to suspect that a justice, the justices being generally large landowners, and, therefore, naturally disposed to sympathize with the master rather than with the servant, leaned in any case towards the former without adequate cause, the servant could enter a petition in the county court without the usual delay of a formal process of action.

From this it will be seen that the laborers of Virginia, whether bound by indenture or by the custom of the country, were shielded by laws that recognized the fallibility and selfishness of the local magistrates and provided a remedy as swift and as summary as if a landowner and not a servant had been involved. Under the code of 1705,[1] which, as already stated, reflected the state of public feeling at the close of the seventeenth century as well as at the beginning of the eighteenth, if the servant became disabled in consequence of the meagreness of the provisions made for his comfort, or as the result of the punishment to which he might have been subjected on any occasion, he was to be taken away from his master,

[1] See General Head "Servants," 1705, Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III.

and in case he could not be sold to a second one, turned over to the church wardens of the parish, and until the expiration of his term supported at the expense of his original employer, the amount required for this purpose to be levied, if necessary, upon the employer's distrainable property. If still considered valuable when put up for sale at public auction, and in consequence found a purchaser, the sheriff under authority of the court could compel the original master to make good any deficiency in the charges incurred by the county in maintaining such a servant in the interval during which he continued under its protection. If the disabilities of the servant arose from no fault of the master, but were due to unavoidable causes in the course of nature, he had a claim upon his employer for support until the end of his term. This claim the master could not ignore without being exposed to a forfeit of ten pounds sterling annually to the parish, which was required by law to furnish the disabled servant with the necessaries of life in case the master shirked the responsibility of his maintenance.

These enlightened provisions of the code of 1705 were in accord with the general spirit, not only of the laws of 1645, 1657, and 1661, which permitted a servant to complain to the nearest commissioner if he was denied by a master the ordinary comforts to which he was entitled, but also of a statute of an earlier date prescribing the medical attention he should have a right to expect. The Assembly, having reason to believe in 1664 that the exorbitant charges of physicians had caused a large number of the planters to defer calling them in until it was too late to save the lives of their sick laborers, the fee demanded being frequently greater in value than the amount of capital invested in individual servants at the time of purchase, adopted a rule to prevent the abuse. It was pro-

vided that in every case in which a practitioner asked for his medical attention in behalf of persons of this class a remuneration plainly far more than the condition of his patient or the other circumstances of the case justified him in doing, the planter who was the object of the attempted imposition should be allowed the right to summon him to court to explain his conduct. If he failed to do so, it was assumed that he had been actuated simply by a motive of extortion, and was condemned to be punished severely.[1]

The Assembly did not content itself merely with ensuring necessary physical comforts for the servants, or throwing safeguards about their health by inflicting penalties for negligence in masters or extortion in medical practitioners. It looked also to the improvement of their moral character. In case their servants had never been instructed in the catechism, employers were compelled by the express provisions of the statute law of the Colony to send them to the nearest church, there, in the hour preceding the opening of the exercises of the evening, to be grounded by the minister of the parish in the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the general articles of belief.[2]

The principal labor in which the servant was engaged was the cultivation of tobacco and the removal of the

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 316.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 181, 182. If a passage in *Virginia's Cure* can be relied on as accurate, some of the masters were very lax in observing this provision of the law. "Some of the heathen complained that Sunday was the worst day of the seven to them because the servants of the Christian plantations nearest to them being then left at liberty, often spent that day in visiting the Indian towns, to the disquiet of the heathen and to the great scandall of the Christian religion." Virginia's Cure, p. 7, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. It ought to be remembered in reading this passage that the author of *Virginia's Cure* was seeking to place in the most unfavorable light, the religious condition of the people of the Colony.

forest for the opening up of new grounds. As a rule, white women were not employed in the fields. This was the case even in the time of the Company,[1] the duties of women being confined to the performance of household duties, to cooking, milking, churning, cleaning, washing, and sewing.[2] It was only when the female servant was an unmitigated slattern in person, offensive in her bearing and dissolute in her conduct, that she was required to do work in the field. Even the strongest of the women were not considered very useful in this sphere, being looked upon as a burden rather than a help. Labor of a purely agricultural character in Virginia was thought to demand less painful exertion than in England. It was neither so taxing nor so long continued. This did not apply to the task of clearing the forest lands, the most severe and trying undertaking, perhaps, which has ever been imposed upon a farm hand. Its performance, however, was restricted to a brief portion of each year and fell more heavily on the axemen, a comparatively small number, than upon the others, who were employed in rolling the trunks into piles and in burning the brushwood. The soil of the new ground was thickly interspersed with roots, but as it was broken up with the hoe, it did not offer any serious obstacles to cultivation. In the long interval in winter between the sale of the crop of the preceding season and the removal of the plants from the beds to the fields, the servants had few important duties to

[1] *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., p. 41. Thomas Nicholls, writing to Sir John Wolstenholme, April 2, 1623, said: "all that the women did was nothing but to devour the food of the land without doing any day's deed." p. 41.

[2] Leah and Rachel, p. 12, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. In 1669, Alice Rogers, a servant of Thomas Spilman, of York County, complained in a petition entered in court that her master made her "work in the ground." Vol. 1664–1672, p. 385, Va. State Library.

occupy their attention. The principal tasks, which consisted in tending the corn and tobacco, began in the spring. The hours of labor were then extended from sunrise to sunset, but there was an intermission of five hours in the day when the sun in the openings was most oppressive and dangerous.[1] Doubtless, to untried and unseasoned servants, it was extremely taxing to be compelled to exert themselves at all, whether in the morning or the afternoon, in the months of June, July, and August, and to many of those who had been recently imported into the Colony, the influence of the heat in these months was fatal by bringing on fevers, which their constitutions, accustomed to a different climate, found it impossible to resist. Omitting from view all considerations of humanity, the prospect of losing valuable laborers whose terms had been purchased a short time before at a high price, and who could not easily be replaced, was sufficient in itself to lead to the adoption of rules that operated as a protection to their general health. Among the most important of these rules was, that no white laborer who had just arrived in the Colony should be forced to engage in any form of work in the fields in very hot weather.[2] The immigration agents in England, who were familiar with the climate of Virginia, frequently urged their inexperienced patrons to secure at least a few seasoned laborers before they began the cultivation of their newly opened plantations.[3] There are indications that many of the servants had been prompted to leave England by extravagant representations of the ease and comfort of the life which they would be able to lead in the Colony,

[1] Leah and Rachel, p. 12, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[3] *Verney Papers*, *Camden Publications*. See Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, pp. 109–111.

and the contrast, not necessarily very great, between the conditions which they expected and the conditions which they found, threw many into a state of dejection in which they soon succumbed to the lurking miasma of the marshes and the newly exposed soil of the clearings.[1] And the same was also the fate of many in that class which was represented by Frethorne, already referred to, men who had occupied a station of comparative independence in England, and who were cast down by the different situations in which they found themselves in Virginia. The work of men of this stamp being carried out with a fainting or unwilling spirit, was certain to be grossly defective, and was, therefore, well calculated to provoke harshness in the attitude of their master towards them. Regarding them as incurably worthless, there was little inducement on his part to encourage them. He accepted them as incorrigible, and weary of chafing against an evil which it was impossible to remove, he finally sank into a state of carelessness and indifference as to the matter of their improvement.[2]

As the servants increased in number, it became more necessary to employ overseers to supervise them, and this was especially the case in the instance of planters who had obtained patents to large tracts so widely separated in the point of locality that the owners were unable to give the management of them their constant attention.[3] When a more careful superintendence was required than the land-

[1] *Life of Thomas Hellier*, pp. 28, 29. The author of the *Life* also asserted that there was no encouragement for any one to come over as a servant unless he was "able of limb and healthy of constitution, it being more to the interest of Virginia to have servants who can chop logs lustily than chop logic. Let robustious rustics sail to Virginia to seek their fortunes."

[2] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 14.

[3] There is a reference to an overseer as early as the year 1622. See letter of John Baldwin to a friend in the Bermudas, printed in the appendix of Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 203.

owner himself could personally give, the most faithful and capable of his laborers was probably quite frequently appointed overseer. If he had under engagement to himself a servant who was perfectly competent to perform the duties of the position, there could have been little inducement for him to select a man who was in full enjoyment of his freedom. The legal tie which gave him control over the actions of the servant made the servant a more desirable subordinate.[1] On the other hand, the fact that the overseer was still bound by the terms of an indenture was calculated to diminish his influence with the laborers over whom he was placed. In the county records of Virginia previous to 1700, the references to overseers become more frequent as the close of the century is approached. These undoubtedly were freemen. At no time in the history of the Colony were such men absent from the class of overseers. Indeed, this class was principally recruited from among those whose indentures had expired.[2] The duties incident to the position required for their performance a firm and energetic spirit as well as intelligence and fairness. However amenable to authority the great mass of English servants may have been, there must have been a large number who needed the utmost strictness and sternness for their governance. To control such persons, the master was compelled to rely upon his overseer, who, however well adapted to his office, often found this an impossible task. In seeking to perform it, he was not infrequently assaulted by fractious servants.[3]

[1] One of the overseers of Major Robert Beverley, Sr., was a servant. *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1679–1694, p. 4.

[2] Jones' *Present State of Virginia*, p. 54. The overseer was sometimes a negro. "General Court Orders, April 23, 1669, Hannah Warwick's case extenuated because she was overseen by a negro overseer." *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 256.

[3] *Records of the General Court*, pp. 44, 99; *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, p. 36.

Of all offences of which the servants were guilty, running away was the most common. The inclination to this act was exhibited at an early date in the history of the Colony and was attributable to a variety of causes, such as harsh treatment in special instances, the desire to escape from the trammels of an uncongenial situation, or the promptings of an intractable nature. It is easily conceivable that this disposition developed itself more frequently in youths under nineteen years of age who were bound for long periods, than in older persons whose terms would end in a much shorter time, and who, therefore, had not the same inducement to desert their masters. The younger laborers were naturally more restless, more unruly, and less likely to show patience and self-restraint if the conditions of their lives were repugnant to their tastes and ambitions. The inclination to run away was, however, confined to no age. The man who, in consideration of being transported across the ocean to Virginia, without payment of the usual charges, had conferred upon the merchant or shipowner the right to dispose of him in the Colony, would much more probably feel this impulse and act upon it than the man who had come out under articles of indenture with the planter to whom he was consigned, and as to whose character and standing he must have obtained more or less definite information. In such cases, the engagement of the servant had not been formed unadvisedly, but after consultation and thoughtful consideration.

In the beginning, the frequency with which servants abandoned their masters was in some measure due to the scarcity of labor. Many unscrupulous planters were led by this circumstance to hold out secret offers to persons of that class who were in the employment of landowners residing at a distance. These offers were accompanied

by the promise that protection would be afforded them in case their whereabouts were discovered, an improbable contingency, as was asserted, on account of the remoteness and the isolation of the separate estates. Even in the cases in which the planters receiving absconding servants had not instigated them to leave their masters, the readiness with which they were often employed without any questions being asked amounted to a positive inducement to restless and discontented laborers to break their engagements whenever they felt the desire.

So general became the complaint of the action of the planters who gave employment to absconding servants, whether informed or not as to the expiration of their terms, that it was found necessary to adopt a regulation that no one should enter into a contract under any circumstances with a worker for wages or for a share of the crop, or with a laborer who was subject to an ordinary indenture, unless he could produce a certificate signed by the commander of the place where he had formerly resided, showing that he was at liberty to bind himself by new covenants to any one who was willing to employ him. If, notwithstanding his inability to furnish this certificate, he should be engaged, then the person who was thus guilty of violating the law was compelled to pay to the master or mistress of the servant, if his term was still unexpired, twenty pounds of tobacco for every night he was entertained. Even though the laborer concerned should happen to have hired himself for a short time and for a definite sum, the same penalty was to be enforced. So determined were the members of the Assembly to probe to the heart of the evil, that it was provided that even if the laborer who was thus employed should be a freeman who had not before entered into any contract, the person covenanting with him should still be under the necessity of requiring

of him a certificate of absolute freedom. If without this certificate the laborer should still receive employment, the person who gave it was exposed to such punishment as the Governor and Council should prescribe.[1] If the certificate offered was in reality a forgery, the servant or freeman incurred a heavy penalty for his crime. In 1676, when the insurrection had drawn away so many laborers from their masters, the Assembly provided that every planter who had in his employment a servant whose antecedents were unknown, and who had not been residing in the country nine months, should present a report to the nearest justice of the peace showing his age, stature, the place from which he came, and the length of time he had been in the country.[2]

There was one strong influence at work among the planters which was likely to have made the operation of these laws more effective than is the case in general with prohibitory statutes in communities recently settled. The very reasons moving those who entertained absconding servants or hirelings to enter into covenants with them in spite of their failure to produce the certificate demanded by the law, impelled the masters or first employers of the runaways to pursue and seize them and to bring them back to the estates to which they belonged. The scarcity of labor made it dear, and it was less expensive to follow a servant or hireling who had absconded than to replace him by the purchase of a substitute. The most important interests of the landholders were involved in the sanctity of the regulation, and there are innumerable indications in the county records that the penalty imposed for disregarding it was strictly enforced.[3]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 253, 254.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 405, 406.

[3] Many instances of the expenses incurred in recovering a runaway

The character of the punishment incurred by the servant in absconding offered an additional inducement to his

are preserved in the records of the county courts. The following is an example taken from the records of Lancaster County:

"One musket of the county's	150 lbs.	tobacco
One rundlet of powder	48 "	"
One small broad axe	15 "	"
One new cooper's axe	48 "	"
Five men and a boat 4 dayes	340 "	"
One gallon of rum, etc., for them	140 "	"
CHARGE IN FETCHING.		
Paid three men that brought Coll. Coulbourne from York	125 "	"
Paid Mr. Coulbourne as per his account	1520 "	"
Four men and a shallop 4 dayes	600 "	"
One gallon of rum, etc., for them	360 "	" "

Records of Lancaster County, original vol. 1666–1682, p. 336. In 1694, Patrick Goghagan ran away from his master in Elizabeth City County. The cost of recovering him amounted to £5 19*s*. *Records of Elizabeth County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 60, Va. State Library. Reference may also be made to an instance in *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 569, Va. State Library: "An acco't of my charges in p'suite of my runaway servants, Jno. Sherry, a portagues, and Tho. Roberts, a molatta, which absented themselves from my service ye 18th of August last and returned ye fifth instant:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To John Marson for his sloope	3	00	00
" John Travillian for his voyage	1	10	00
" John Bushell for ditto	1	00	00
" p'visins for ye voyage	2	00	00
" passage over Elke River	0	00	06
" a guide from Elke River to Newcastle		02	06
" my expenses at Newcastle		04	09
" passage from thence to Philadelphia		04	06
" expenses by ye way		03	08
" expenses at Philadelphia	2	07	00
" " thence back to Newcastle	0	01	06
" boat hire from Philadelphia unto Newcastle		10	00
" expenses there		07	06
" guide from Newcastle to Elke River		02	00
" gallon of rum		05	00

they being absent 79 dayes apeece."

master to discover the place to which he had fled, and to capture and lead him back. If the act of running away under consideration was the first offence of that nature on his part, he was punished to the extent of being required to remain in the employment of his master double the time for which he was bound by his indenture, or by the custom of the country in the absence of a written agreement between them; and if his flight had been marked by aggravated circumstances, or was taken at the season of the year when the crops needed special attention, it lay in the power of the commissioners of the county to enlarge still further the term for which he had become liable by way of penalty for his violation of his covenants. If the offence was committed a second time, the servant was also branded in the cheek and shoulder.[1]

In some cases, the servant was not only required to remain with his master double the time agreed upon at first, but also to pay the amount which had been spent in capturing him. The punishment occasionally extended to the infliction of stripes. In 1640, Hugh Gwyn followed two absconding white laborers and a negro slave into Maryland, in which Colony they had taken refuge, seized them and brought them back. By order of court, they were whipped on their bare backs until they had received thirty lashes. The two white men, a Dutchman and a Scotchman, were forced to remain with their master twelve months beyond the terms for which they were bound in their indentures, and at the end of that interval they were required to serve on the public works for three years. The negro was delivered over to his master to continue a slave during the rest of his life.[2]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 254, 440; vol. II, p. 117.

[2] General Court Orders, June 4, July 9, 1640, *Robinson Transcripts*, pp. 9, 10.

In the same year, several servants planned to make their escape to the Dutch provinces in the North, the ringleader in the conspiracy being a Dutchman, and one of the participants a negro. They were captured when they had gotten only as far as Elizabeth River. The punishment in this case was severer than in that previously mentioned. The Dutchman was sentenced to receive thirty lashes, to have the letter "R" branded in his cheek, and to carry a shackle upon one leg as he worked. When his term of service expired, he was to be delivered to the authorities, to remain in the public employment for seven years. One of his accomplices, after receiving thirty lashes, and being branded in the cheek, was upon the close of the period covered by his indenture to become the servant of the Colony, and to continue so for the space of three years. A second accomplice was to be bound over to the public for two years after the expiration of his term. The negro was to be burnt in the face with the letter "R" and to be whipped severely.[1]

In 1660–61, it was provided that if a white man bound by indenture or the custom, fled in company with negroes, who, being the property of their owner for life, could not be punished by an extension of their terms, he was to be compelled, when brought back, to remain in the employment of his master double his own time, and of the slaves' master, during a set period for every slave who had gone off with him; and if more than one white person was in the party of runaways, the whole number of white men were to be proportionately liable for the time for which the negroes, if they had been English laborers, would have been compelled to serve, in addition to those terms for which they were already bound.[2]

[1] General Court Orders, July 22, 1640, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 11.
[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 117.

In the session of 1655–56, the penalty of twenty pounds of tobacco for each night, imposed upon any person who gave entertainment or employment to an absconding servant, was increased to sixty pounds for every twenty-four hours. The letter "R" deeply burnt into the cheek, forehead, or shoulder not being found a sufficient mark of degradation, the right was granted to the master to keep the hair of the runaway cropped close to his ears, which would lead to his detection as soon as he escaped from the plantation to which he belonged.[1]

The pursuit of a runaway seems to have been generally made by hue and cry. It was required that this should be passed from the house of one county commissioner to that of another, under a heavy penalty for neglect.[2] This method proving unsatisfactory, an additional regulation was adopted in 1663, by the terms of which, at the request of a master whose servant had fled, the justices of the peace were commanded to issue their warrants directing the impressment of men and boats to take part in the pursuit, and the cost thus entailed was to be included in the regular county levies.[3] The enactment of such a law indicates that the public sentiment of the Colony regarded the loss of a laborer by flight as common to the whole community, and therefore to be made good out of the public funds.

As numerous runaways were able to escape from the country by means of ships engaged in carrying freight to the Dutch Colony, provision was made for their return by a standing request to the Governor of that Colony to send all absconding servants back by the first vessel which might sail to the part of Virginia from which they had fled.[4] When a person was returned under these circum-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 517, 518.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 483.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 187.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 188.

stances, he was received by the collector of the district in which the ship came to anchor, and a certificate was given to the master of the vessel, containing a statement of the expenses which he had incurred in the transportation of the runaway, and this amount was discharged by the General Assembly upon the presentation of the document to that body. In the meanwhile, the collector had notified the master of the arrival of his servant. If he was willing to take the servant into his employment again, he was required first to pay all the charges that had fallen upon the public, but if unwilling, then the servant was either sold or hired out until the public had been reimbursed for the outlay entailed; and if any part of his term remained unexpired, after this was accomplished, he was returned to his master.[1] If, instead of attempting to escape in a ship that was about to set sail for the Northern Colonies, the runaway fled to the nearest Indian village, its chief was commanded to produce him before a justice of the peace. The latter, on receiving him, was required to pay to the Indians who had apprehended him, twenty arms' length of roanoke, or its value in such goods as the captors might prefer. The justice then forwarded the servant to his master. This law was passed to continue in force only for a very short time.[2]

Experience showed that the neglect of constables in making search as directed by their warrants, which empowered them to enter dwelling-houses, was the most frequent cause of a permanent evasion of capture on the part of absconding servants. To counteract the secret influence brought to bear upon these officers, a master, in case his runaway was apprehended, was ordered to pay the constable who was the agent in the capture, two

[1] This act was modified in 1686. See Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 28.
[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 299.

hundred pounds of tobacco. This was also a means of stimulating him to greater energy in a subsequent instance of a like nature.

In 1669, it was provided that a reward of one thousand pounds of tobacco should be allowed to every person who apprehended a servant absenting himself from the plantation to which he belonged without a passport from the authorities of the place where he resided, or a note from his master, granting him permission. This reward was to be paid not by the master, but by the public at large, the amount thus expended to be returned to the public funds by the sale of the runaway for a term of years as soon as his present employment came to an end. This law was enacted for the benefit of the class of landowners who were in possession of so few laborers that they were unable to follow fugitives at certain seasons of the year without abandoning their crops in the ground to ruin. When a servant was captured after the passage of the Act of 1669, he was at once carried to the office of the nearest justice of the peace. A certificate of the term for which the runaway was bound to his master was then drawn up and transmitted to the next General Assembly. In the meanwhile, the runaway was delivered to the constable of the parish in which he had been seized, by whom he was conveyed to the constable of the adjacent parish, and so in turn until he was finally delivered to his owner. In case he was suffered to escape by the neglect of one of these officers, a penalty of one thousand pounds of tobacco was imposed upon the delinquent for the offence.[1]

The allowance of one thousand pounds for the apprehension of an absconding servant was found to be not only burdensome to the public revenues but also promotive of a spirit of collusion, defeating the object which

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 273, 274.

the law had in view.[1] The reward was reduced to two hundred pounds whenever the fugitive was captured at a greater distance than ten miles from his master's home, and this amount was to be paid out of the public levy in the county to which he belonged. No claim was to be considered valid until it had been clearly shown to the justices that the runaway and his captor had not entered into a mutually advantageous arrangement as to his arrest; that the arrest occurred at a certain distance from the plantation on which he had been employed; that the claim had or had not been purchased from the captor; and that the person urging it in the court was or was not the master or overseer of the fugitive. If the claim was found to be tainted with fraud, the person guilty of the offence, in case he was unable to pay the one thousand pounds imposed as a penalty, was compelled to submit to corporal punishment in the discretion of the court.[2]

If the servant had absconded on two occasions, the master was directed to keep the hair of the fugitive closely cut, or forfeit two hundred pounds as often as he was subsequently apprehended.[3] Each constable into whose hands he was delivered to be returned to his owner was authorized by the commissioner's warrant to give him a severe whipping. The heavy fine which was imposed in case a captured servant was allowed to escape by the negligence of one of these officers was, in 1670, reduced from one thousand pounds to four hundred pounds of tobacco.[4] Under the regulations in operation immediately previous to the enactment of the statute of 1686, as soon as the period for which a captured runaway was bound had expired, the master was required to deliver him at once into the hands of the nearest justice of

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 277, 278, 284.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 284.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 278.

the peace in order that he might be assigned for the public use, his term being extended at the rate of four months for every two hundred pounds of tobacco which the county had expended in his capture. Under the law of 1686, however, the entire amount of the outlay which had fallen upon the public was assessed upon his master or mistress, to be reimbursed by the extension in his or her favor of the servant's time for a period which would cover the value of the loss entailed by his recovery.[1]

There can be little doubt that the last provision made was the wisest that could have been adopted in the circumstances existing in the Colony. When a servant absconded, all the resources of the public treasury and its personal instruments for carrying on the machinery of the government and preserving the peace were brought to bear to effect his capture, and when that end had been accomplished, the master was very properly required to save the people at large from pecuniary loss. The rule prevailing at one time that the community was to be reimbursed by the sale of the runaway by the public officers as soon as his original term had expired, must have given rise to much inconvenience and some complication in the affairs of each county. The authorities, from the great number of fugitives, were placed in the position, as long as the law was in operation, of being vendors of labor on a very important scale, and this made necessary a serious enlargement of the public accounts without any pecuniary advantage accruing from it.

The fact that so few conspiracies were hatched among the laborers bound by articles of indenture is to be attributed not only to the fair treatment which, as a rule, they received from their masters, but also to the comparative

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 29.

brevity of the time for which all whose ages exceeded nineteen, among whom alone a plot was likely to be formed, were required to serve. It was entirely natural that the older members of this class should have been disposed to endure much that was harsh or repugnant to their wishes in the expectation of the early ending of their terms, rather than plunge into secret schemes that exposed them to the risk of certain death in the event of detection. There seems to have been a seditious feeling in York in 1661, and its display was considered to be sufficiently serious to justify the authorities in warning the magistrates and heads of families in that county to punish all discourse among those in their employment tending to a popular tumult.[1] The conspiracy of 1663, to which reference has been made already, had a religious and political object in view. Only a few servants appear to have been included among those implicated in it. The Cromwellian soldiers, reduced to the condition of common laborers, doubtless smarted with the sense of degradation, but beyond all this, there was a hope that the status of the English Protectorate might by their bravery and resolution be restored in the Colony.[2] The discovery of this

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 369, Va. State Library. "A dangerous conspiracy among servants discovered Oct. 13, 1640." *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 12.

[2] The account which Beverley gives of this conspiracy is as follows: "The rigorous circumscription of their trade (*i.e.* of the Virginians), the persecutions of the Sectaries and the little demand for tobacco, had liked to have had fatal consequences; for the poor coming thereby very uneasy, their murmurings were watched and fed by several mutinous and rebellious Oliverian soldiers that were sent thither as servants. These, depending upon the discontented people of all sorts, formed a villainous plot to destroy their masters and afterwards to set up for themselves." *History of Virginia*, p. 55. See also letter of Thomas Ludwell, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1665*, p. 72, Va. State Library.

plot led to the passage of severe laws in repression of the sinister meetings of servants. They were forbidden to come together in considerable numbers on Sunday, a day on which they had been allowed entire rest, and the same rule was also probably applicable to all recognized holidays. By the custom prevailing in the Colony, the laborers were granted not only the Sabbath and the usual holidays observed in England, but also the greater part of every Saturday.[1] Apart from the hours of night, there were many occasions when they were wholly at leisure, and if there had existed any disposition to conspiracy among them, the opportunity would not have been lacking. In the period of great depression following the collapse of the Rebellion of 1676, there was imminent danger of an open insurrection on the part of the servants, but if it had occurred, the motive would have been not merely impatience of the landowners' authority but apprehension of famine. The feeling died out when relief had been obtained.

Among so large a body of laborers, it is not remarkable that there should have been many instances of resistance to masters. One of the earliest petitions presented to the General Assembly in 1619, the first legislature convening in the Colony, was that of Captain Powell, who desired to have his servant punished for falling into grossly insubordinate conduct. The petitioner was empowered to place this servant in the pillory for a period of four days, to nail his ears to the post, and to give him a public whipping on each day included in his sentence.[2] The severe punishment inflicted in this case does not appear to have been repeated in later times. The person who was found

[1] Leah and Rachel, p. 12, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[2] Lawes of General Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, p. 24.

guilty of offering resistance either to his master, or to the overseer who was appointed to supervise him, was compelled to continue in the same employment two years beyond the expiration of the term for which he was bound either by indenture or the custom of the country.[1] If the spirit of insubordination which he exhibited rendered him dangerous, he could, upon complaint, be committed to jail, a bond being given by his owner that the charge would be pressed to a trial. During the imprisonment, the master was required to support the servant, five pounds of tobacco being paid to the sheriff to cover the expense of each twenty-four hours of detention.[2]

At each county seat there was a whipping-post, and this mode of punishment was frequently used as a substitute for the jail. The servant condemned to the lash was delivered to the sheriff to be publicly chastised as a warning to all who were similarly disposed, and afterwards returned to the plantation to which he or she might be attached. The master had a right to whip a delinquent with his own hands if unwilling to put himself to the inconvenience of sending him to a magistrate for that purpose.[3] When the servant had shown on any occasion the desire to inflict injury on any one not his employer, the latter might be ordered, in the discretion of the court, to furnish a bond that his servant would keep the peace.[4] Should a servant be guilty of murder or an attempt to kill, six men were summoned from the neighborhood where he lived whose names were put at the head of the panel. By the jury thus formed he was tried, and if convicted, was

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 538.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1682–1701, p. 171, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 266.

[4] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1682–1701, p. 139, Va. State Library.

sentenced to be imprisoned or hanged, according to the circumstances of his crime.[1] Aggravated cases of robbery were doubtless punished with severity, but small offences like hog-stealing, especially when the person who suffered was the master, exposed the offender as a rule only to the pains of a public or private whipping.[2] In some cases, in addition to public chastisement, he was compelled by order of court to continue in the same employment for a term of two years after the expiration of the time upon which he had agreed.[3] It not infrequently happened that in condonation for the most serious forms of robbery, a servant bound himself upon the conclusion of the period covered by his indenture to enter into a second indenture by which he agreed to serve a second period.[4] Whoever induced a man of this class to dispose of his master's property by stealth, more particularly when the tempter became the beneficiary of the theft, was compelled to suffer imprisonment for a month

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 207; Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 35.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1673–1685, p. 36.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1666–1680, orders March 9, 1669.

[4] "Know all men by these presents that I, Henry Rewcastle . . . being now free and having liberty to bargain, I doe freely binde myselfe and absolutely without compulsion or persuasions of any person or persons whatsoever, to serve from the day of the date hereof three complete years to Mrs. Elizabeth Lockey or her assigns, and to doe all such labour as she the said Mrs. Lockey or her assigns shall sett me about duely and truly in every respect, the consideration I doe owne to have received of the said Mrs. Lockey, namely, for the breaking open of her store and taking rum, mackerell and sugar out thereof, and convey it away, and for this consideration and the true performance of three years' service from the date hereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 18th day of November in the year of our Lord, 1675." *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 162, Va. State Library. See also Orders of Court, Jan. 12, 1684, *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694.

and to restore four times the value of the articles which had been carried off.[1]

In the Assembly of 1619, a law was passed that provided that the servant should receive a whipping for every oath he uttered, and should afterwards confess his guilt in the parish church when the congregation had convened for religious services. There is no record of this statute having been repealed.[2] The regulation imposing a fine of tobacco upon all freemen who had been heard to swear was steadily enforced, and there is no reason why there should have been any relaxation of the special punishment inflicted for the same offence upon those in their employment.

A certain degree of liberty in the sexual relations of the female servants with the male, and even with their masters, might have been expected, but there are numerous indications that the general sentiment of the Colony condemned it, and sought by appropriate legislation to restrain and prevent it. A woman who was got with child by her employer was, upon the expiration of her term, delivered to the church wardens of the parish in which she resided, who were empowered to dispose of her for two years, the tobacco thus obtained to be devoted to parochial objects. The purpose that this regulation had in view was of a twofold character. The wardens secured by the sale of the mother for a new period of service, the means to meet any charge which the bastard might impose upon the parish; on the other hand, her master was prevented from deriving any advantage from his criminal association with her such as would have resulted from an extension of the term for which she was bound to him.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 274, 275.

[2] Lawes of Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 27.

If the woman had been required to remain in his service, then this would have constituted an additional inducement to a dissolute master to tamper with the virtue of his female servants. It was clearly recognized, at the same time, that to allow such a woman to go entirely free on the expiration of her first term, on the ground that the father of her bastard child was her employer, who used the influence of the relation to force her to yield to his solicitations, was to offer a strong temptation to all women in the same situation to lay their offspring at the doors of their masters, whether the latter were guilty or not.[1]

If the father of the bastard was a freeman, owning, however, no interest in the mother, he might satisfy the claim against him by paying fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco, or serving for one year the master of his paramour. He had also to give security to save the parish and her employer harmless, and was compelled to defray the whole charge imposed by the existence of the child.[2] If, on the other hand, the latter was the offspring of a servant who was unable to contribute to its support, the expense of maintaining it fell upon the parish until his term had expired; as soon as this was the case, he was compelled to reimburse the vestry for the amount which they had already been called upon to pay.[3]

In the latter part of the century, some alteration was made in these regulations. If a woman gave birth to a bastard, the sheriff, as soon as he learned of the fact, was required to arrest her, and whip her on the bare back until the blood came. Being turned over to her master, she was compelled to pay two thousand pounds of tobacco, or to remain in his employment two years after the termi-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 167.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 438.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 168.

nation of her indentures.[1] By delivering five hundred pounds of the same commodity to the parish, her master could relieve her of the chastisement, and, in return, he had a right to claim of her a service of six months,[2] in addition to the two years prescribed by law. Katharinè Higgins, of York, having borne a child out of wedlock, was ordered to receive thirty-nine lashes. To secure remission of this part of her punishment, John Page, her master, gave the vestrymen assurance that he would deliver to the parish the required amount of tobacco as a guarantee against loss in providing food and clothing for the bastard.[3] The punishment of whipping seems to have been also remitted in case the mother and the father appeared together in church at the time the congregation was assembled, both clothed in white sheets.[4] A bastard child remained in the service of the parish until his twenty-fourth year, being apprenticed under strict indentures.[5]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 115; *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 427, Va. State Library. See also *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1666–1670, f. p. 79.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 115; vol. III, p. 139.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 7, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1644–1655, Feb. 16, 1645.

[5] *Records of the General Court*, p. 47. *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, pp. 60, 61, Va. State Library, contains an example of these indentures: "This indenture witnesseth that we the subscribers, Col. John Catlett and Capt. Thomas Hawkins, two of his majesty's Justices of the Peace for Rappahannock County, do hereby covenant, promise and agree to and with William Hodgson of the same county, planter, that Nicholas Willard, a bastard child, begotten on the body of Katharine Jones by Nicholas Willard, late of aforesaid county, decd, shall from henceforth become a servant to the above said Hodgson, his heirs and assigns, until the said Nicholas attains to the age of 20 years fully to be completed and ended, and, as soon as God shall enable him, the said Hodgson, to serve his heirs or assigns in such service and employment as

If the bastard child to which the female servant gave birth was the offspring of a negro father, she was whipped unless the usual fine was paid, and immediately upon the expiration of her term, was sold by the wardens of the nearest church for a period of five years. One-third of the proceeds of the sale was turned over to the public treasury, one-third was paid to the informer, and the remainder reserved for the use of the parish in which the offence was committed.[1] The child was bound out until his or her thirtieth year had been reached. The heaviness of the penalty was in some measure to be attributed to the desire to inflict a certain degree of moral punishment, for, as will be seen when we come to the subject of the slave, all physical intimacy between whites and blacks, even under the sanction of marriage, was not only severely condemned, but also rigidly punished.

Secret marriages among the servants of the Colony seem to have been a common source of serious loss to masters, and steps were taken at an early period to prevent their occurrence. The penalty attached, in 1643, to this act was the prolongation of the term of the husband for twelve months, while the term of the wife was extended twice its original length, owing to the anticipated loss of valuable time in the event that she gave birth to a child.[2]

by him or them he shall be employed in for and during the aforesaid time; in consideration whereof the said Hodgson, for himself, his heirs, executors doe hereby covenant . . . to and with the aforesaid justices in behalf of the said Nicholas during his said time, to find and allow him meat, drink, washing, lodging and sufficient apparel, and at the end and expiration thereof to pay and deliver him or assigns two suits of apparell, one, kersey, the other, cotton; a canvas pair of drawers and two shirts, one canvas, the other lockram; and one felt and 3 basketts of good sound Indian corn. In witness whereof . . . " At the date of the indenture the child was two years and five months old.

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 209, Va. State Library; Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 87. [2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 253.

A minister was strictly prohibited from publishing the bans of persons of this class, or joining them in marriage without first having received a certificate showing that the consent of their masters had been obtained, and if the union took place without that consent, the parties to it were made liable, in 1662, to the penalty of serving one year after their articles of indenture expired. The same punishment was inflicted upon the servant who intermarried clandestinely with a free person, the latter being compelled to pay the master fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco or bacon, or become his employee for a period of twelve months.[1] Although there was a law interdicting a union of free whites with negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, whether enslaved or free, there seems to have been no provision against marriage between persons of African or Indian race and pure whites, in case the latter happened to be still bound by indenture or by custom of the country. This, however, is probably explained by the fact that the consent of the master or mistress was necessary to give the marriage of a servant validity, a consent practically unattainable on account of the prejudice which existed even at this early day to such a union.

It is interesting to find that the private funerals of servants were the occasion of so much scandal as to lead to their prohibition. This scandal related to various persons nearly associated with the dead, who, if guiltless of what was whispered against them, could not vindicate their innocence, and if guilty, could always be successful in evading punishment. In order to remove all occasion for aspersion previous to the burial, three or four neighbors were summoned to view the corpse whenever there was the smallest ground for suspicion, and if not, to accompany the body to the grave. It was not permitted

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 114.

that any servant should be interred in a private spot. They were to be buried in public cemeteries established for this purpose. The passage of such a law illustrates with singular force the great care with which every precaution was adopted by the General Assembly for the protection of persons of this class against all forms of encroachment upon their welfare.[1]

If we examine the relations which the servant bore to the community at large, we find that he was in the enjoyment of none of the higher privileges of citizenship. He was furnished the amplest protection to life and limb which the law could give, and was entitled to the strictest observance on the part of his master of all the covenants in his indenture that assured him proper food, apparel, and lodging, but he was denied the right of suffrage, and had no voice in the general or local administration of affairs. It was only in the case of a great emergency that he was called upon to bear arms in the defence of the soil. Under ordinary circumstances, he was not permitted to have weapons in his possession, although the royal instructions in the time of James II required that he, as well as his master, should be regularly mustered.[2] At all times, unless a war was in progress, he was subject to be taken in execution as if he were a mere bale of merchandise.[3] He formed the most important part of the basis of taxation. At one period, all servants under sixteen were exempted from being included in the list of tithables. This regulation, however, led to many serious frauds, and was, therefore, revoked. It became a general custom that after a youth had been brought into the

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 53.

[2] Instructions to Howard, 1685, and to Culpeper, 1679, *McDonald Papers*, vol. VII, p. 180; *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 305, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 297.

country, and his age shown to be under sixteen years, he was not again produced, and, therefore, to the end of his term remained unlisted. In consequence of the loss of public revenue from this course of action, it was provided that all persons of this class, however young, who were imported into the Colony after 1649, were to be liable for the payment of county levies.[1] Natives of Virginia under sixteen were excepted from the operation of this statute, and to this number also were added the children under that age who had arrived in the country in the company of their parents, or without articles of apprenticeship.[2] In 1680, the general law applicable to tithables was again substantially altered, the fourteenth year being adopted as the legal age in the case of all Christian servants who had been brought into the Colony.[3] Every woman who was employed in the fields had to be returned as a tithable.[4] No servant who had been imported by a merchant for sale was for the first year held to be a tithable until he was disposed of.[5]

When the term for which a servant was bound, whether by indenture or the custom of the country, had expired, he proceeded to the court of the county in which he lived, in company with his master, or with the testimonial of the latter that he was now at liberty. The fact that he was free was entered on record by the clerk, and a certificate to that effect was drawn up and presented to him, which justified any one in employing him as a laborer. If the document was shown to be a forgery, the servant was compelled to stand two hours in the pillory on court day. The certificate, in case it was lost, could at any time be renewed.[6] The General Court appears to have leaned towards rather than away from members of this class

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 454. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 361. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 480. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 170. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 488. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

when a question as to their right of freedom came before them for decision.[1]

When the servant was discharged, upon the expiration of his term, there were certain privileges bestowed upon him which it is improbable that he ever failed to claim. Reference has already been made to the benefits conferred on the laborers who, during the early existence of the Company, were imported to cultivate the public lands. At the close of their periods of service, each was granted one hundred acres, and, when this tract had been seated, each was probably entitled to an additional tract of the same extent. When the apprentices bound out to the tenants were set free, their position was still more advantageous. They had an allowance of corn for twelve months, and for each a house was erected; each was presented with clothing and a cow of the value of forty shillings. As much land as each could till was placed in his control, together with gifts of armor, implements, tools, and utensils. At the expiration of the tenancy, which continued for a term of seven years, — during which time one-half of all the increase of the earth and of the cattle was theirs, — a tract of twenty-five acres was granted to each one in fee simple subject to the payment of an annual rent of a few pence. They could, however, continue tenants of the Company if they wished to do so.[2]

After the dissolution of the Company, the amount paid

[1] Numerous instances of this fact will be found in the *Records of the General Court*, preserved among the Manuscript Collections of the Virginia Historical Society.

[2] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, pp. 41, 42. The following reference to one of these apprentices is of interest: "Whereas it appears to ye court that one Henry Carman, late servant to Mr. Saml. Sharp, and one of those fifty boys which were by James R. commanded to be sent over hither, and arrived here in 1619, the condition of whose service was appointed to be for seven years at first to their mas-

to the servant at the end of his term was, in the absence of any provision in the indenture, fixed by custom with as much precision as if it had been prescribed by law. He was entitled to such a quantity of grain as would furnish him a support for one year. This, at the end of the century, was estimated at ten bushels.[1] He was also to receive two sets of apparel, — including in general two suits, one of kersey, the other of cotton, a pair of canvas drawers, two shirts, one of which was made of canvas, the other of lockram, and one felt hat.[2] In the time of Beverley, a gun worth twenty shillings was added.[3] The value of the grain, clothing, and other articles thus received was estimated at ten pounds sterling.[4]

The impression prevailed in England that every servant was also entitled to fifty acres. For this belief, however, there seems to have been no ground, — at least, previous to the administration of Culpeper. In 1679, this Governor was enjoined to lay off for each person of that class at the end of his term fifty acres of land, and a similar order was given to Sir Henry Chichely in January 1681–82, by the Committee for Trade and Plantations, which was renewed in a somewhat modified form in 1685

ters to whom they were first put, and further if during this time, they should commit any great malifice as whoredom, theft, drawing of blood, that then from that time toties quoties the time of their service to begin again for seven years, now whereas it appeareth to ye court that the said Henry Carman hath committed fornication with one Alice Chambers, servant of Abraham Chambers, the court orders he shall serve seven years longer." Orders of General Court, Oct. 11, 1626, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 52.

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 221.

[2] See *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, pp. 60, 61, Va. State Library. In this case, provision was made for an apprentice at the expiration of his term.

[3] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 221.

[4] *Colonial Entry Book*, vol. 92, pp. 275–283.

in the instructions to Howard.[1] It does not appear that the General Assembly passed a law at any time in pursuance of these instructions. The author of *Leah and Rachel* about the middle of the century declared that the report that fifty acres were allotted to each servant when he became free was a delusion.[2] There must have been strong ground for opposition on the part of the landowners to the establishment of such a regulation. If it had been customary to make such a grant, the large body of persons who, when their terms expired, entered into indentures again, or hired themselves out at stated wages, would have been drawn away at once to their own estates, and the ability of the planters who had been their masters to secure laborers in place of them would have been diminished to a serious extent.[3]

[1] Instructions to Culpeper, 1679; Howard, 1685, *McDonald Papers*, vol. V, p. 518, vol. VI, p. 259, Va. State Library. See also *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 106, pp. 339, 340; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1681–1682*, p. 151, Va. State Library.

[2] Leah and Rachel, p. 11, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. This statement is confirmed by an order of the General Court, Jan. 13, 1626, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 61.

[3] Beverley, who wrote at a time when the right of appropriating land had been very much enlarged, states that "each servant had a right to take up fifty acres where he can find any unpatented." There is preserved in the *Records of York County*, an indenture between an English carpenter and a Virginian planter, in which the allotment of fifty acres is referred to as "according to the custom of the country." *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 367, Va. State Library. This indenture was drawn up in England in 1647, and probably by one who was really ignorant of the customs prevailing in the Colony. The desire of the Virginian planter, who was a party to it, to secure the carpenter, may have been so great that he was willing, when the mechanic's term came to an end, to grant him fifty acres whether it could be legally claimed or not. There is no concurrence of evidence that at this time the allotment of fifty acres to a servant on the expiration of his term was an established regulation. If he obtained this area it was probably by a perversion of the head right.

If, during the period covered by his indenture, the servant was guilty of some gross violation of its provisions, or if, in the absence of written covenants, he disregarded what was required of him by the custom of the country, he forfeited, at the expiration of his term, those benefits which, under ordinary circumstances, he received.[1] The courts, general and local, were rigidly scrupulous that the amplest justice should be done him in the payment of the articles due him when he became free. All agreements between his master and himself before his term had ended had, to acquire validity, to be acknowledged in the presence of a legal officer, and, in case such contracts were lacking in this sanction, his employer was deprived of the right to hold him longer, although many months of the period for which he had bound himself still remained unexpired. If he was detained beyond the limit of the time laid down by his indenture or by custom, his master was compelled to pay him in wages for this additional time. In one case, the General Court ordered that a hogshead of tobacco should be delivered to a servant whose term had thus been forcibly extended.[2]

A fair proportion only of those who were imported into Virginia as laborers acquired handsome estates and became prominent and influential citizens. Many Assemblies, after 1632, contained burgesses who had begun their career in the Colony by binding themselves out for a set period of time. In the early sessions of the legislature, the members who had at one time been servants or apprentices had been brought in as employees of the Company, and, through the grants of land which they received on the expiration of their terms, had acquired

[1] General Court Orders, Oct. 9, 1640, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 8.

[2] *Records of General Court*, p. 10.

immediate importance in the community. As late as 1654, however, we find in the Assembly, burgesses who, only a few years before, had been working for different planters, under indenture or by the custom of the country. The explanation of this fact is to be sought either in their superior ability and energy after securing a release, or in their thrifty habits during the continuation of their service.[1]

It was not impossible for an active and industrious man bound by indenture or by the custom of the country to accumulate a good estate in the course of his employment; it is said that there was a general disposition on the part of the landowners to assist their laborers in acquiring property as a preparation for starting under the most advantageous circumstances on their own account as soon as they had obtained certificates of freedom.[2] The relation of kindness and confidence prevailing between master and servant was shown in the frequency with which the latter acted as the attorney of the former.[3] The servant was often allowed a tract of cleared ground in which to plant tobacco to be disposed of by himself when the annual ship-

[1] The Assembly of 1629 included among its members Anthony Pagett, William Poppleton, and Richard Townsend, who had come into the Colony under the terms of indentures, Townsend, as we have seen, having been bound over to Dr. Pott to learn the art of a physician. Adam Thoroughgood, who acquired large wealth, and was appointed a councillor, came to Virginia as an apprentice, perhaps agricultural, although he had high social connections in England. Abraham Wood and John Trussell, members of the Assembly of 1654, had begun life in the Colony as servants or apprentices. The author of *Virginia's Cure* went so far as to assert, in 1662, that those who occupied seats in the House of Burgesses had in general been men who had emigrated from England under articles of indentures. This, however, is certainly erroneous. Virginia's Cure, p. 16, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[2] Leah and Rachel, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 124, Va. State Library.

ping arrived in the rivers. The articles he thus acquired in exchange for his small crop, enabled him to buy a sow, which his employer permitted to range with his own cattle; one litter of pigs furnished him with means to purchase a cow and calf, and by the time his term had drawn to an end, he was in possession of a sufficient number of live stock to supply his needs when he opened a plantation of his own. His indenture not infrequently required that his master should provide him with several head when he became free.[1] Bullock strongly recommended that every planter should pay to each of his servants a certain amount of tobacco for every pound of flax which he dressed, and should in other branches of agricultural work offer rewards that might stimulate them to greater energy and assiduity.[2] The law strictly protected the right of persons of this class in all goods which they had brought into the country, or which they had secured since their arrival during the course of their terms.[3] It frequently happened that they obtained freedom in consideration of a payment of cattle or the conveyance of land.[4]

In 1640, Sir John Harvey presented a favorite servant with a negro slave, an English laborer, and a cow,[5] and about the same time, Robert Felgate of York bequeathed to one of his employees four head of cattle, and also corn sufficient to last him for one year. To these, sixty acres and five hundred pounds of tobacco were added.[6] In

[1] General Court Orders, Oct. 9, 1640, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 8.

[2] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 62.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 165; General Court Orders, Oct. 9, 1640, *Robinson Transcripts*.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, pp. 121, 131, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1654–1702, pp. 374–379.

[6] *Records of York County*, vol. 1633–1694, p. 72; see also p. 76, Va. State Library.

1681, Robert Hodges of Lower Norfolk left two breeding sows by will to his servant Dorothy Rowell, and also granted her the right to dwell on one of his plantations during a period of seven years without paying rent.[1] The bounty of masters was not restricted to live stock and land; it also extended to coin.[2] Nor were the acts of generosity confined to the employer. In 1634, Robert Healing of Accomac, who was bound by indenture to Thomas Young, gave his master a man-servant, whom he had probably purchased from a merchant or shipowner.[3] Other instances of equal liberality and good-will might be mentioned.

A large number of the servants, as has been pointed out, upon the expiration of their terms became either overseers or renters, if they were lacking in the means to sue out patents to estates of their own. In the seventeenth, as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the position of an overseer furnished many opportunities to the incumbent for the improvement of his condition by the accumulation of property. His share in the crops which he produced for his employer was invested in the purchase of laborers of his own to obtain the basis of head rights for the acquisition of land by public grant, or it was used in buying a plantation which had already been cleared. The number of renters among those who had been servants was probably small, for the reasons upon which I have already dwelt at length.

There are many evidences that it was common for servants upon the close of their terms to earn a subsistence

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 106.

[2] Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., bequeathed ten pounds sterling to one of his servants. *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 155. See also *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 239, Va. State Library; also *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1677–1692, p. 139.

[3] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1632–1640, p. 46.

in the character of hired laborers. Payment of wages was not unusual even during the supremacy of the Company. Adam Dixon, a master caulker living in the Colony in 1622, was remunerated for his work at the rate of thirty-six shillings a month.[1] In 1623, as we learn on the authority of George Sandys, the wages generally received were one pound of tobacco in addition to food each day,[2] but this amount was considered to be very onerous, being much in excess of the sum paid to the same class of persons in England at this time. It was not very long before Sandys is found writing to a friend in London and urging him to procure indented laborers to be sent to Virginia, as the wages paid in the Colony were intolerable. A maid was engaged by Sir Edmund Plowden in 1643, at the rate of four pounds sterling annually, payable in merchandise valued at its first cost in England; [3] three years later, he declared that he was unable to hire for thirty days a servant supplied with clothing for less than two hundred pounds of tobacco. It was at this time that John Weekes of York agreed to work during two months for William Light of the same county in return for a bed, a bolster and blanket, and a pair of pot-hooks.[4] In 1649, annual wages ranged from three pounds sterling to ten or their equivalent in tobacco.[5] If the laborer had come over at the expense of his employer, the amount of his remuneration was diminished by his being required to return the sum spent in meeting the charges of his passage, but this was carefully proportioned to the four years covered by the

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 188.

[2] Sandys to Wrote, Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 123.

[3] Archives of Maryland, *Judicial and Testamentary Business*, vol. 1637–1650, p. 224.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 321, Va. State Library.

[5] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 52.

contract. When he had been in the Colony many years, he was exempted from such a deduction. In payment for services extending over a period of twelve months, Stephen Tarleton of York, in 1666, delivered to Edward Jenkins one suit of broadcloth and one of kersey, two shirts, a hat, one pair of shoes, and two pairs of stockings.[1]

In 1680, the wages of a hired laborer did not in Virginia differ substantially in amount from the wages of a servant engaged in the same character of work in England. Fitzhugh, writing about this time to his agent in London, requests him to send him a trained housekeeper, offering to pay her passage money; to allow her three pounds sterling by the year; and to furnish her with food without charge. He considered that this would be highly acceptable, as the remuneration, he said, would be equal to that which was received by the same class of domestics in the mother country.[2]

In a contract between Mrs. Weldon of York and Isabel Nicholas in 1684, the former promised to pay the latter for domestic service, to be prolonged over a period of one year, fifty-five shillings, a new apron being given as an earnest of the bargain.[3] So high were the average wages at this time that it was thought in some instances that no profit was to be derived from hired labor.[4] How great wages were in cases probably not considered extraordinary, may be seen in the agreement between Josephine Chowne and John Corbett of Elizabeth City County in 1697, by the terms of which Mrs. Chowne was to receive remuneration for her work during a period of two months and a half, at

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 106, Va. State Library. The service was sometimes in compensation for a wilful act. See *Ibid.*, 1684–1687, p. 58.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 1, 1680.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 59, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 250, Va. State Library.

the rate of five pounds sixteen shillings and six pence a month.[1] The average wages by the year appear to have been at the close of the century six pounds sterling,[2] or if paid in tobacco, fourteen hundred pounds of this commodity, with one pair of shoes and one pair of stockings. The rate by the day was twelve pence.[3]

If these wages were carefully husbanded, they could be invested in ways that were certain to bring handsome returns. Bullock has left an interesting opinion as to the disposition which a hired laborer at this time should make of his earnings. A part of the sum received should go to the purchase of a heifer, and the remainder be spent in buying three or four flitches of bacon for exportation to England, where they could be easily sold for two pounds three shillings and four pence sterling. This amount was to be expended in combs, laces, and pins, which commanded in Virginia double the price current in the mother country, ensuring the owner upon his original outlay in bacon not less than five pounds sterling. In the interval, the cow which he had purchased had probably given birth to a calf, and the wages of the second year had been received. At the end of four years, Bullock estimated

[1] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 415, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1692, p. 136, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1679–1694, p. 695. "Jeremy Overy of Middlesex County is indebted to Hugh Conaway:

16 days work in May	@ 12^d	per day
17 days work in June	@ 12^d	per day
2 days work in . . .	@ 12^d	per day
15 days work in October	@ 12^d	per day

1694."

The following is an entry in the *Records of Middlesex*:—

"Judgment is granted to Joan Peirce against M^r Thomas Landon for the sum of 8 £ Sterling due for two years' wages." Original vol. 1694–1705, p. 120.

that the laborer, by the exercise of sound judgment in his trading, ought to have accumulated sixty pounds sterling, and if he had been allowed by his employer to cultivate a patch of tobacco of his own, this sum would be very materially increased.[1]

The women who were exported from England to the Colony had unusual opportunities of advancing their welfare in life. If they enjoyed an honorable reputation, they found no difficulty in marrying into a higher station than they had been accustomed to; Bullock mentions the fact that no maid whom he had brought over failed to find a husband in the course of the first three months after she had entered into his service. The fortunes of these imported women were frequently superior to their deserts, for a large proportion of them were considered to be worthless.[2]

The number of persons in the Colony who had been condemned to servitude for violating the law was always small, and in 1642, the statute prescribing this form of punishment, which had been passed in 1619, was abolished.[3]

The salable value of the servant depended in principal measure on the length of time which his indenture still had to run. It was of course affected by the degree of his physical strength. Striking the general average for the series of years represented in the uncompleted terms appraised in the inventories of estates entered in the county court records, the following will be found to be substantially correct: a man having still one year unexpired, ranged in value from two pounds sterling to four; having two years, from six pounds sterling to eight; having three years, from eight to fourteen pounds sterling; having four years, from eleven to fifteen pounds sterling;

[1] Bullock's *Virginia*, pp. 52, 53.
[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 1, 1680.
[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 259.

having five years, from twelve pounds sterling to sixteen; having six years, from thirteen pounds sterling to seventeen.

The value of female servants was fixed at lower rates. Thus a woman having one year of her term unexpired was appraised at a figure ranging from one to three pounds sterling; having two years, from three to five pounds sterling; having three years, from four to eight pounds sterling; having four years, from eight pounds sterling to twelve; having five years, from twelve pounds sterling to fourteen; having six years, she was appraised at a figure which did not exceed fifteen pounds sterling.[1]

There are many indications that the largest proportion of the negro servants who were found in the Colony in the seventeenth century were mulattoes, who had either been set free by their white fathers or were sprung from emancipated African mothers. The county records show the presence of numerous persons of half blood who were earning a livelihood under ordinary covenants for a comparatively short time, or who had been bound out until they should reach their majority. If the mulatto was the offspring of a white woman, his period of service was extended by the vestry, which had all bastards at their disposal, to his thirtieth year. Among those who were employed by Robert Dudley of Middlesex just before his death, was a mulatto woman whose term was to expire at the end of two years.[2] The estate of Mrs. Rowland Jones of York, in 1689, included among its items of property a mulatto man who had sixteen years to serve.[3] Colonel John Walker

[1] These estimates are based upon hundreds of entries found in the inventories of personal estates preserved in the county records.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 103; see also *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 558, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 381, Va. State Library.

was the owner of an African apprentice whose indenture was to remain in force for twenty-eight years.[1] Among the laborers of Mr. George Light was a negro who had come into Virginia a free man, and bound himself out for a period of five.[2]

Upon the close of the negro's term, he was entitled to the same quantity of clothing and corn as the white servant. Independent provision was often made for him in the indenture itself. In 1685, William, the son of a mulatto woman named Katharine Sewell, was apprenticed to William Booth of York for a period of nine years, Booth agreeing not only to supply him with the usual quantity of food and raiment, and to provide him with the customary lodging, but also on his reaching the fourteenth year, to give him a heifer, whose increase was to be carefully preserved for his benefit until his term expired.[3] In some cases, the negro servant was permitted to raise hogs on condition that he turn over to his master one-half of the amount obtained from their sale.[4]

There is no reason to think that the negro servant was appraised lower in inventories than the white. His labor was equally as valuable, and he was probably much more easily controlled, an element of special advantage in employing him.

There were found in Virginia in the seventeenth century a number of persons of Turkish blood, who had been imported like English laborers under the terms of ordinary indentures. One of the head rights which Francis Yeardley, in 1647, gave in to obtain a patent to land in Lower Norfolk was acquired by his importation of Simon, who was

[1] *Records of General Court*, p. 128.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 61, Va. State Library.
[4] General Court Orders, March 31, 1641, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 30.

of Turkish nationality.[1] Jonathan Newell of York County owned four Turkish servants, whose value was placed at the very high figure of ninety-five pounds sterling.[2] The inventory of the estate of George Jones of Rappahannock included a Turk whose term had still seven years to run. In the last decade of the century, a suit was entered in York by Mathew Catillah, probably an Algerian, for the recovery of his freedom, his mistress retaining him beyond his twenty-fourth year.[3]

The greater number of the Indian servants were children, many of whom were of a very tender age, the explanation of this circumstance lying in the fact that Indian parents were always at liberty to bind out their offspring as apprentices. Doubtless, too, it was recognized by the planters that the younger the Indian, the greater the probability that he might be educated to become tractable and useful. The grown persons of the race, when reduced to this condition, were in most cases unmanageable, and hardly worth the constant attention required to control them. In every agreement which an Indian parent in disposing of his son or daughter entered into, a covenant had to be inserted providing that the child should be instructed in the Christian religion. The contract, as a whole, was to be sworn to before two justices of the peace in order to exclude the possibility of collusion.[4] The regulation was established and strictly enforced that

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 50. A Turk was imported by George Menefie in 1635. See *Va. Land Patents*, vol. I, p. 200.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 142, Va. State Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 135, Va. State Library. References to Portuguese servants will be found in *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 558, Va. State Library, and in *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1664–1674, f. p. 138.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 410.

all Indian children who had been obtained by the planters with the assistance of Indian kidnappers, or who had been procured from their fathers directly by means of fraud, and then held, on the claim that they had been purchased for an adequate consideration, were to be returned to the place to which they belonged within ten days after it had been shown that they had been wrongfully acquired.[1] The master of a young Indian was not permitted to carry him out of the country until the local court had received satisfactory evidence that the consent of his parents had been obtained.[2] Youthful servants of this race were ordered to be brought before that body to have their age inquired into and adjudged, so that they might be included among the tithables, if they had reached the degree of maturity prescribed.

In his relation to his master, the Indian servant stood upon precisely the same footing as the white;[3] he too was held strictly to the observance of his obligation to work, and he also could not be retained longer than the legal period. In some particulars, the law was more unbending in the case of an Indian than of a white person, since it was desirable to avoid all causes of conflict with the neighboring tribes. No servant of aboriginal blood could be owned without a special license from the Governor, and his master had to place himself under bonds to be responsible for all injuries and damages which he might

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 481, 482.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 546.

[3] The master was required, as in the case of white and negro servants, to supply the Indian with proper clothing, food, and shelter. The provision in the matter of garments made for one of the Indian servants of William Randolph of Henrico County, in 1696, was one leather and one cotton waistcoat, one pair of leather breeches, one pair of shoes, and one pair of stockings. Original vol. 1677–1699, Orders, Oct. 1, 1696, p. 124.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 492.

CHAPTER XI

SYSTEM OF LABOR: THE SLAVE

THE introduction of the African into Virginia was an event that was certain to occur in time. The institution of slavery sprang up there under the operation of an irresistible economic law, and was to continue in undiminished vigor until it vanished in the conflagration of battle. A few negroes doubtless would have been brought into the Colony in the seventeenth century even if its soil had been incapable of producing tobacco. In this respect, the history of New England would have been repeated. The enlargement of the area under cultivation in that plant in Virginia signified an enormous increase in the number of imported slaves as soon as the proper facilities for their transportation had been established; it was not until the last quarter of the seventeenth century was reached that these facilities had been established on a scale fairly commensurate with the demand for labor in the Colony. The institution of slavery played there but an insignificant part in the course of the greater portion of this century, not because the African was looked on as an undesirable element in the local industrial system, but because the means of obtaining the individuals of this race were very limited. The value of the negro as an agricultural factor was clearly understood. The strongest competitors of Virginia in the production of its principal commodity were the Spanish Colonies in the South, where the plant was culti-

vated by the slaves imported from the coast of Africa or sprung from parents of African nativity. The climate of Virginia, it is true, was less oppressive to the European laborer than the climate of the West Indies, but the economic reasons which made the negro a more useful and profitable hand in the cultivation of a great staple like tobacco, were just as applicable to him in the valleys of the James and York as in the islands of Cuba and San Domingo.

One of the most serious drawbacks to the employment of indented laborers was the inevitable frequency of change attending this form of service. In a few years, as soon as the time for which the servant had been bound under the articles of his contract or by the custom of the country had come to an end, his place had to be supplied by another person of the same class. Whenever a planter brought in a laborer at his own expense, or purchased his term from the local or foreign merchant who had transported him to the Colony, the planter was compelled to bear in mind the day when he would no longer have a right to claim the benefit of his servant's energies because his control over him had expired by limitation. He might introduce a hundred willing laborers, who might prove invaluable to him during the time covered by their covenants, but in a few years, when experience had made them efficient, and their bodies had become thoroughly enured to the change of climate, they recovered their freedom, and, if they felt the inclination to do so, as the great majority naturally did, were at liberty to abandon his estate and begin the cultivation of tobacco on their own account, or follow the trades in which they had been educated. Unless the planter had been careful to make provision against their departure by the importation of other laborers, he was left in a helpless position without men to

tend or reap his crops or to widen the area of his new grounds. It was not simply the desire to become an owner of a great extent of land that prompted the Virginian in the seventeenth century to bring in successive bands of persons whose transportation entitled him to a proportionate number of head rights. Perhaps in a majority of cases, his object was to obtain laborers whom he might substitute for those whose terms were on the point of expiring. It was this constantly recurring necessity, which must have been the source of much anxiety and annoyance as well as heavy pecuniary outlay, that led the planters to prefer youths to adults among the imported English agricultural servants, for while their physical strength might have been less, yet the periods for which they were bound extended over a longer time.

It can be readily seen that from this economic point of view, the slave was a far more desirable form of property than the white servant. His term was for life, not for a few years. There was no solicitude as to how his place was to be filled, for he belonged to his master as long as he lived, and when he died he generally left behind him a family of children who were old enough to furnish valuable aid in the tobacco fields. In physical strength he was the equal of the white laborer of the same age, and in power of endurance he was the superior. Whilst some of the negroes imported into the Colony, more especially those snatched directly from a state of freedom in Africa, were doubtless in some measure difficult to manage, the slaves as a rule were docile and tractable, and, when natives of Virginia, not disposed to rebel against the condition of life in which they found themselves. Not only were they more easily controlled than the white servants, but they also throve on plainer fare and were satisfied with humbler lodgings. Nor were they subject to season-

ing, a cause of serious loss in the instance of the white laborers. Moreover, they could not demand the grain and clothing which the custom of the country had prescribed in favor of the white servants at the close of their terms, and which constituted an important drain upon the resources of the planters. It is true that the master was required to provide for his slave in old age when he could make no return because incapable of further effort, but the expense which this entailed was insignificant.

It would appear for these reasons that even in the seventeenth century, the labor of slaves after the heavy outlay in securing it had been met, was cheaper than the labor of indented white servants,[1] although the latter class of persons stood upon the same footing as the former as long as their terms continued. This was the opinion of men who had resided in the Colony for many years, and enjoyed the fullest opportunity of observing the operation of the local system of agriculture. The wastefulness of slave labor, which has always been considered to be the most serious drawback attached to it as compared with free labor, was of smaller importance in that age than when the whole area of Virginia had been divided into separate plantations, and the extent of the untouched soil had become limited to a degree demanding more skilful and more careful methods in the cultivation of the ground. In the seventeenth century, there was no element of wealth so abundant as the new lands covered by the fertile mould which had been accumulating on their surface for many thousand years. The planter availed himself of their productiveness in reckless haste, soon reducing the rich loam to barrenness, but in doing so he was pursuing a more profitable course and a more econom-

[1] Instructions to Culpeper, 1681–1682; his reply to § 59, *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 155, Va. State Library.

ical plan than if he had endeavored to restore the original quality of the soil. If it had been possible to obtain domestic or imported manures at a small expense, it would still have been cheaper in the end, the volume of the annual crop being considered, to extend the clearings and to leave nature to bring back the abandoned fields to their primæval excellence. The Virginian planter of the seventeenth century was apparently the greatest of agricultural spendthrifts, but in reality he was only adapting himself to surrounding conditions, which were the reverse of those prevailing in the mother country, where art had to be called in to preserve the ground from the destructive effect of long-continued tillage. Introduced into the Colony where the first principle of agriculture was to abuse because the virgin lands were unlimited in quantity, the institution of slavery was not lessened in value from an industrial point of view by the fact that it did not promote economical methods in the use of the soil.

There is, however, serious reason for doubting whether the charge of wastefulness brought against slave labor in Virginia, not only in the colonial period but in the period between the Revolution and the War between the States, was not to be laid at the door of the great staple, tobacco, rather than at the door of the institution of slavery itself. No country devoted exclusively to the cultivation of this staple is likely to present an appearance of thrift, unless its surface should be occupied by small proprietors working their own estates, and making use of every foot of available ground. The tobacco plant requires for its production loam in the greatest quantity and of the highest quality. There is always a disposition on the part of those engaged in its cultivation to widen the plantation, even now, when arti-

ficial manures are so effective in bringing back the fertility which has been lost. The newly cleared field is still the soil which is most desired, and there is still and will always be the same inclination to rely on nature for the restoration of land. This is not the fault of inherited carelessness in agriculture, but it is a condition which has descended from the seventeenth to the present century in a form modified only by the growth of population. If the culture of tobacco were very profitable, the tendency to enlarge each estate would be just as strong to-day in Virginia, with labor emancipated, as it was during the existence of slavery. That institution only promoted the extension of the plantation by cheapening labor to the lowest point, which to that degree increased the owner's returns from his crops, enabling him to invest a greater sum each year in land. During the first sixty years in the history of the Colony, the slave was an insignificant element in the community, and yet during this long period there are to be observed the most marked indications of the tendency to appropriate large tracts. This disposition was manifest from the start, as the result not of the character of the labor system in operation, but of the nature of tobacco itself. The system of labor permitted the exhibition of this disposition but did not create it. The agriculture of Virginia did not reach an extraordinary degree of prosperity until the administration of Spotswood,[1] and this is to be partially explained by the fact that not until one hundred years had passed was the number of slaves imported into

[1] Hugh Jones states that "the Country (Virginia) may be said to be altered and improved in wealth and Polite Learning within these few years since the beginning of Gov. Spotswood's Government more than in all the Scores of years before that, from its first Discovery." *Present State of Virginia*, 1724, p. 53.

the Colony equal to the demand for their services. The most prosperous period in the history of Virginia was perhaps the interval extending from 1710 to 1770. The people during this time had not only a staple that commanded a high price in foreign markets, but also the most inexpensive system of labor, in the light of the peculiar physical conditions prevailing, which could have been adopted. The institution of slavery had not been developed sufficiently in the seventeenth century to bring about results approaching those which were observed in the eighteenth. If for every servant brought into the Colony between 1675 and 1700 a negro had been substituted, the accumulation of wealth by the planters would during this period have been more rapid than it was, not on account of their ability to raise a larger quantity of tobacco for sale, which would have been undesirable, as the supply throughout the century was even larger than the demand, but on account of that curtailment in the cost of production which would have followed from the employment of laborers bound for life and not for a term of years.

There were no scruples in the minds of the English people of that age, whether residents of England itself or citizens of the Colonies, against the enslavement of the negro and the appropriation of the fruits of his toil. Even those most fully informed as to the terrible features of the middle passage were inclined to agree with Sir John Hawkins in his memorable reply to Queen Elizabeth when reproached by her for the horrors attending the trade in human beings which this distinguished Englishman had been the first of his nation to begin. Admitting the correctness of the reports made to his sovereign, he claimed that the condition of the slave in America was less deplorable than the condition of the freeman in Africa, and that in removing the negro from

a land of idolatry to a land in which Christianity prevailed, a service had been conferred upon the whole African race.[1] As late as the end of the seventeenth century, the belief was held by many, even in England, that the negro was not a man but a wild beast, marked by an intelligence hardly superior to that of a monkey, and with instincts and habits far more debased.[2] He was considered to be stupid in mind, savage in manners, and brutal in his impulses, and the multitudes that were transported across the ocean justified the apparent harshness of this judgment. It was an age, however, in which little mercy was shown to the lower races by the higher, unless the lower were in a position to inflict injury upon the higher. The Caribs in the West Indian Islands had swiftly melted away under the stress of the unaccustomed tasks which were imposed upon them. The Englishman of the seventeenth century was in no way as cruel as the Spaniard of the sixteenth, but it is not improbable that if the Indian tribes of Virginia had been as mild and tractable in their disposition as their fellows in the islands of the Spanish Main, they would at first have been brought under a yoke at best heavy and exacting. The consideration which the aborigines received from the English settlers was due in the largest measure perhaps, not to a sense of justice and humanity, which, as we have seen, was far from lacking, but to a well-founded apprehension of the savage courage and the restless spirit of the natives.

[1] Williams' *History of the Negro Race in America*, p. 138.

[2] Godwyn's *Negro's and Indian's Advocate* (1680), pp. 11, 12, 13, 14. Godwyn argues very gravely, "methinks the consideration of the shape and figure of our negroes' Bodies, their Limbs and Members, their Voice and Countenance in all things according with other Men's; together with their Risibility and Discourse (Man's peculiar Faculties) should be a sufficient conviction," p. 13. This pamphlet throws a curious light upon the general view taken of the negro in the seventeenth century.

The African was totally devoid of the power to resist, and was easily and permanently subdued by the exercise of force. There was a growing demand for labor in the New World, and thither he was drawn without opposition on his part, to become in time the mudsill upon which the social organization of a large part of the Western Hemisphere was to rest. Not only were there sincere doubts in the minds of many Englishmen as to whether the place of the negro in the general system of life was higher than that of the horse or the ox, but there was a belief that if he were indeed a member of the human family, he belonged to a race of men who, as the descendants of Ham, had been cursed by God himself, and so branded for all time as servants of superior races, without claim to the fruits of their own arduous labor.[1] This was thought to be in itself a justification for African slavery. Its significance was as deeply impressed upon the minds of the colonists in Virginia as it was upon the minds of the colonists in Barbadoes and the Somers Isles.[2] And yet it is a remarkable fact, that not until many years after the introduction of the negro into Virginia, do we find him referred to in the statute book as a slave; in the beginning, he was simply a servant for life, different only from the white servant in the length of his term of service.

The first cargo of negroes brought into Virginia was transported thither without there having been any previous arrangement on the part of the planters to receive them upon their arrival. They were introduced under the

[1] "They make them the Posterity of that unhappy son of Noah, who, they say, was together with his whole Family and Race cursed by his father. . . . For from thence, as occasion shall offer they'll infer their negro's Brutality; justifie their reduction of him under bondage . . ." Godwyn's *Negro's and Indian's Advocate*, pp. 14, 43.

[2] The Bermudas.

impression that they could be disposed of with ease because of the growing demand for labor in the cultivation of tobacco. The system of indented service had by this time been firmly established, and under the wise administration of Sir George Yeardley the Colony itself had entered upon that course of expansion in wealth and population which, with the exception of a brief interval occasioned by the massacre of 1622, was to show a steady progress with the passage of each decade. In 1619, at the moment when the settlers were beginning to feel the first beneficent effects of a milder government, twenty Africans were disembarked from a Dutch privateer, presumably at Jamestown, as the place where a market was most readily found for a cargo of laborers. The ill-fated vessel, which was destined to earn by this single act in its career a sinister immortality in history, was sailing under letters of marque from the Prince of Orange, and had been cruising in the Spanish Main for the purpose of capturing Spanish prizes. The rapacious and unscrupulous Argoll seems to have been indirectly connected with this introduction of the negro into the Colony, and was, therefore, partly, although remotely, responsible for it. Before the close of his term as Governor he had dispatched to the West Indies a ship, sent to him by the Earl of Warwick and sailing under a commission from the Duke of Savoy, to make raids upon Spanish shipping. This vessel was ordered to bring back to the Colony a load of salt and goats, but it was suspected at the time that its real object was to ravage the commerce of Spain.

Argoll during his administration had sought to reduce all the resources of the Colony to his own immediate profit, without regard to public or private interests. It seems probable, therefore, that the introduction of slave

labor occurred to him as an enterprise which would be likely to result in gain to himself and his patrons. While cruising in the West Indies, his vessel, the *Treasurer*, fell in accidentally with a Dutch privateer and remained in company with her. It was from the officers of the *Treasurer* that the commander of this ship perhaps learned that a market for the sale of negroes could be found in Virginia, for, after touching at the Bermudas, the vessel proceeded to that Colony, which she reached in the month of August, Yeardley in the meanwhile having taken the place of Argoll, who had a few days before the arrival of the new Governor returned by stealth to England. The *Treasurer* arrived in Virginia in the course of the same summer as the Dutch privateer, but, meeting with a cold reception, she turned back to the Bermudas, carrying with her a number of slaves, who were placed upon the lands which the Earl of Warwick owned in that island.[1] During her stay in the Colony, she seems to have disembarked only one negro, so far as the records show.[2]

It has been suggested that the first negroes introduced into Virginia after its occupation by the English were imported in the *Treasurer*, and not in the Dutch privateer.[3] All the evidence which has been published goes to confirm the statement of Rolfe, that the latter and

[1] Pory to Carleton, Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 113.

[2] See Census 1624–25, Hotten's *Original List of Emigrants, 1600–1700*, p. 224. The name of this negro, who was a woman, was Angela.

[3] Among others by Mr. Alexander Brown in the *Genesis of the United States*. In his biography of Captain Elfrith, p. 886, he expresses the opinion that the report given of the "cold reception" of the *Treasurer* was written for the purpose of diverting the attention of the Spaniards, and he states that "he has several documents in the premises (which have never been printed) giving ample information." I have not had an opportunity of examining these documents.

not the former vessel was responsible for this ill-omened addition to the population of the Colony. One of the first acts of Governor Yeardley after his arrival at Jamestown was to inform Sir Edwin Sandys in England, that it was generally believed in Virginia that the only object which those in charge of the *Treasurer* had in view in their West Indian voyage was to make an incursion upon the Spanish islands in that quarter, a purpose not inconsistent with the character of similar incursions which had been promoted by the Earl of Warwick, the principal owner of the vessel. The attention of the Council was called to the expedition, but that body decided to dismiss the whole matter without prejudice to Warwick, who might have been seriously compromised if it had been shown that he had been engaged in a piratical attack upon the commerce and property of Spanish subjects in the West Indies. The English King was at this time very solicitous to preserve the utmost amity in his relations with Spain. After a short interval, a second communication was received from Governor Yeardley, announcing that the *Treasurer* had returned to Virginia, but had met with a reception so little cordial that she had soon departed, leaving behind a lieutenant, who had admitted that those in command of the ship were deeply involved in outrageous depredations upon the Spanish possessions in the South.[1] This news created a great commotion in the Council. Sandys had called that body together for the special purpose of inducing it to inform the Spanish Ambassador and the Privy Council of the lawless course which had been pursued by the owners of the *Treasurer*. It is obvious from these proceedings how determined the new administration in England was

[1] Manchester Papers, *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., p. 35.

that the Colony should not rest under the slightest suspicion that the Company was giving countenance to the piracy of Warwick and Argoll. That Yeardley understood the importance of keeping clear of the same imputation, is proved by the fact that he was so hostile to the vessel upon the strength of rumor alone that the master, in order to evade arrest, set sail instantly when he discovered that Argoll had taken flight.[1] This did not prevent the vigilant Governor from dispatching a full account of all that could be learned about the *Treasurer* to the authorities of the Company in England. Entertaining this feeling towards the ship, and being fully aware of the extreme peril both to himself and to the safety of the Colony that would arise from showing consideration to a vessel which had excited the violent animosity of the Spanish Power, it seems wholly improbable that he would have entered into negotiations with Captain Elfrith for the purchase of the slaves contained in his ship. To have done so would have been to call down the wrath of the Spaniard upon Virginia at a time when it was the policy of the home as well as the colonial government to avert it. To give a cold reception to the *Treasurer* was the natural and prudent course to pursue, and that this was done, both Yeardley and Pory assert with equal clearness. If the negroes on board had been withdrawn from the ship by force, Warwick would have advanced the same claim to them which he afterwards advanced to the fourteen whom the *Treasurer* disembarked at the Bermudas subsequent to her departure from Virginia. No such claim was made. It is equally significant that in the census taken in 1624–25 but one negro is mentioned as having been imported into

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 197.

the Colony in this vessel. If all had arrived in Virginia in her bottom, the same fact would have been stated in connection with each slave. It is equally significant that a large proportion of the Africans introduced in 1619 were placed upon the lands assigned to the office of the Governor. It seems improbable that Yeardley, a man of prudence and discretion, would, even as a feint, send a dispatch to England in open condemnation of the piratical voyage of the *Treasurer* at the very moment he proposed to reap important benefits from that voyage by purchasing, for the use of tenants in his service, the negroes who constituted the principal prize of the incursion from which the *Treasurer* had just returned.

In the space of five years immediately following 1619, the number of Africans in the Colony was increased by two. The muster taken of the population in 1624–25 discloses the presence of twenty-two as compared with the twenty brought in by the Dutch privateer, but one of these two additions is accounted for by the fact that the *Treasurer* had landed a negro in Virginia in 1619, and the other had been imported in the *Swan* in 1623.[1] The two children included in the lists of the muster, it may be, were born on the North American continent. Their ages are not given, which makes it impossible to state this with confidence.[2] If under five years, they were natives of the Colony, but

[1] Census of 1624–25, Hotten's *Original List of Emigrants, 1600–1700*, p. 258.

[2] If born in Virginia, two of the negroes forming the cargo of 1619 must have died. Of this there is no record. The two additions to the original number, as shown by the census of 1624–25, are accounted for by the two negroes brought in by the *Treasurer* and *Swan*, from which it may be reasonably inferred that the two negro children mentioned in the census of 1624–25 had been counted in the importation of 1619. If none had died in the interval, the census of 1624–25 would have shown, in case the two children had been born in Virginia, the presence of twenty-four instead of twenty-two slaves in the Colony.

if over five years, they were born at sea or in the West Indies. While the mind cannot contemplate the birth of the first negro on North American soil with the same emotions as those aroused by the birth of Virginia Dare,[1] the event nevertheless was one which cannot be regarded without a feeling of the profoundest interest when we reflect upon its association with the great events which were to come after. Whichever of these children, if either, was born in Virginia, it was the first of his race who could claim a nativity in the soil and an absolute identification with its history.[2]

It is an interesting fact that no African perished in the massacre of 1622, when three hundred and forty-five of the colonists fell by the tomahawks and arrows of the Indians. This can only be explained on the ground that their color had been influential in saving them from the ferocity of the savages. More than two years had passed since their arrival in Virginia, which allowed a sufficient interval for their partial distribution among the different settlements. Many of the negroes were doubtless still at Jamestown, one of the few places in the Colony from which the massacre was averted, but a number must have been at Fleur de Hundred, which did not escape that terrible visitation. Of the twenty-two negroes in Virginia in 1623, eleven were living at Fleur de Hundred, four at Warrasquoke, two at Elizabeth City, one at Jamestown Neck, three at Jamestown, and one on the plantation on the banks of the Powhatan opposite to that place. Their failure to increase in number during the five years imme-

[1] The first English child born in North America.

[2] The Spaniards are said to have occupied Jamestown Island in the previous century and to have sought to make a permanent settlement there, partly by means of the labors of their negro slaves. See Prof. John Fiske's valuable and interesting *Short History of the United States*, pp. 42, 43.

diately following their introduction was due to the separation of the sexes, as disclosed by the records. Thus, of the eleven at Fleur de Hundred, in 1623, one alone apparently was of the female sex. Two, perhaps all, of the three at Jamestown were women. The only negro at Jamestown Neck was a man. This was also true of the one on the plantation lying across the river from Jamestown. Of the four negroes at Warrasquoke, two were women.[1]

An examination as to the ownership of the negroes in 1625, reveals the fact that there was greater opportunity for their increase at that time than in 1623. On one of the tracts of public land which Governor Yeardley had under cultivation, there were five female slaves and three male. Richard Kingsmill and Captain West respectively were in possession of one male slave. Abraham Piersey, the former Cape Merchant, a man of considerable fortune, was the owner of four male slaves and two female. On the plantation of Captain Tucker, there was a family of slaves composed of a husband, wife, and child. There was also a slave husband and wife on the Bennett estate.[2] The names which these negroes bore would seem to show that they had been captured, as has been suggested, on the high seas, and had after their arrival in the Colony been given English appellations; the name of one alone is of Spanish origin, the negress who had been brought in by the *Treasurer* being known as Angela. When at a later period slaves were imported into Virginia from the Spanish West Indies, it was the custom of many who bought them as a basis for patents, to retain their Spanish desig-

[1] List of the Livinge and Dead in Virginia, Feb. 16, 1623, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 2; *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 41. Angela at Jamestown was doubtless the woman brought in by the *Treasurer*.

[2] See Hotten's *Original Lists of Emigrants to America, 1600–1700*, pp. 202–265.

nations. The custom was not always followed, but was observed, as we will show hereafter, with sufficient strictness to give much valuable information as to the origin of the negroes who were entered to secure head rights. The Africans forming the cargo of the Dutch privateer that arrived in 1619 were known after their distribution among the plantations by such English names as Peter, Anthony, Frank, and Margaret, but these might have been the anglicized forms of the original Spanish names.

Five years after the census of 1624-25 was taken, from which it appears that there were twenty-two Africans in the Colony at that time, an important addition was made to the slave population by Captain Grey, who, during a cruise in the ship *Fortune* of London had encountered a vessel loaded with negroes from the Angola coast, captured her and brought her cargo into Virginia. This cargo he exchanged there for eighty-five hogsheads and five butts of tobacco, which were afterwards transported to England for sale. It would seem that no difficulty was found in disposing of these slaves, although they were rude savages stolen only a few weeks before from their native country. The demand for labor was now so urgent that these untrained barbarians were doubtless purchased in haste.[1]

So far as can now be discovered, all the negroes imported into the Colony in the course of the first half of the seventeenth century were brought in like the cargoes of the Dutch privateer in 1619, and the *Fortune* in 1629, by independent ships and by individual enterprise. The first charter for the acquisition of slaves which was granted in this century to an organized body by the

[1] John Ellzeye to Edward Nicholas, *Dom. Cor. Charles I*, vol. 105, No. 35, *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1628*, p. 185, Va. State Library. The name appears sometimes as Guy, a misprint probably for Grey.

English Government, was in 1618, when the exclusive privilege was conferred upon the Earl of Warwick and his associates of carrying on a traffic of this kind on the Guinea coast. As has been seen in connection with the *Treasurer*, which, if not the property of the Company, was owned by its leading members, the restriction to this coast was not strictly observed in its operation. The fact that the vessel, although belonging to men who were licensed to trade in slaves, was turned away from Jamestown in the summer of 1619 without being permitted to dispose of the negroes on board, is an additional indication of how solicitous the Governor at that time was that Virginia should not be drawn into any complication with the Spanish Power. There is no evidence to show that the *Fortune*, which was commanded by Captain Grey, was connected with the Company over which Warwick presided. She was probably an independent vessel engaged in general commerce.

In 1631, the year following the seizure of the Angola slaver, a charter was obtained from Charles the First by an association that went to an extraordinary expense in making every provision for securing the traffic of the Guinea coast, inclusive of the barter in negroes. The importation into Virginia of Africans by the agency either direct or indirect of this Company must have been small, as eighteen years subsequent to the acquisition of its charter the number in the Colony did not exceed three hundred. A part of this number is to be attributed to natural increase, for thirty years had now passed since the negro was first landed in Virginia. A fair proportion of the three hundred, however, had been introduced by planters or shipowners, the principle of the head right having been adjudged to apply to the slave as well as to the indented servant. The first instance recorded in the

patents now preserved in the office of the Register at Richmond, of a grant of fifty acres on the basis of a head right allowed for the importation of an African, is that in connection with Angela, who belonged to Richard Bennett.[1] This was in 1635, in which year twenty-six negroes were introduced into Virginia. The person who brought in the largest number was Charles Harmar, who added four men and four women to the slave population.[2] The extent of the increase in 1636 did not exceed seven, the importation by individual planters being in no case larger than two. In 1637, twenty-eight negroes were introduced, Henry Browne being the importer of eight. In 1638, the number amounted to thirty. The planters who obtained head rights on the basis of these thirty slaves included such leading citizens as Francis Epes, John Banister, Randall Crew, Christopher Wormeley, George Menefie, Thomas Harris, John Robbins, and Richard Kemp. Richard Kemp brought in eleven and George Menefie twenty-three.[3] It is stated that the whole number of Africans introduced in this year by the latter were from England. In 1639, only forty-six negroes were added to the slave population of the Colony, of whom fifteen were imported by George Menefie and twelve by Henry Perry.[4] The number in 1642 amounted to seven only; in 1643 to eighteen, and in 1649 to seventeen, of whom a large majority were introduced by Ralph Wormeley.[5] In the interval between 1649 and 1659 there seems to have been little fluctuation in the volume of the importations. The greatest number of negroes brought in in one body in this interval were introduced in 1656, when

[1] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 187. See also head rights of patent granted to David Jones in the same year.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 246. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1623–1643, pp. 705. 771.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 691. [5] *Ibid.*, vol. 1643–1651, p. 171.

thirty were imported by Tabitha and Matilda Scarborough of the Eastern Shore.[1] In other instances it did not rise above thirteen.

There are many indications that previous to 1650 the Dutch were either directly or indirectly chiefly instrumental in introducing the negro into Virginia. In 1655, Colonel Scarborough, one of the most distinguished planters of the Eastern Shore, is stated to have visited Manhattan, where he purchased many slaves, whom he afterwards transported to his own home.[2] The Dutch vessels, however, were in the habit of landing Africans in the Colony. The trade was doubtless interrupted by the war which broke out in 1653 between Holland and England, but as soon as peace was restored it was resumed, although not to the extent which the landowners desired. In 1659, the General Assembly sought to promote the importation of negroes in Dutch bottoms by granting to Dutch masters the valuable privilege of sending out the tobacco, which had been exchanged for slaves introduced, free from the duty of ten shillings a hogshead which was imposed upon all foreign ships, and subject only to the duty of two shillings required upon the casks exported to England.[3] The action of the Assembly was soon rendered nugatory by the return of the Stuarts, and the rigid enforcement of the Navigation laws. Previous to this event the English merchants who had taken part in the traffic

[1] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1655–1664, p. 35. It is most probable that in nearly all the cases mentioned, the negroes had not been directly imported by the persons suing out the patents, but had been purchased from shipowners and shipmasters, who had brought in slaves along with ordinary merchandise.

[2] *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. XII, pp. 93, 94.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 540. The same privilege was extended to "other forreiners."

of supplying the American plantations with slaves, had become thoroughly discouraged by the encroachments of the Dutch, who did not hesitate to seize English vessels seeking to participate in the African trade. To prevent the entire exclusion of these merchants, it was found necessary, in 1662, to grant a charter to the Royal African Company, with the exclusive right of importing negroes into the English possessions, the number to be introduced annually not to fall short of three thousand. The Duke of York, brother of the King, was placed at its head. This corporation was authorized to give a license to any English subject to export slaves from Africa to the English Colonies on the payment of three pounds sterling a ton on the tonnage of the vessel used in transporting them. It also received permission to enter into a contract with the Governor of Barbadoes to supply the planters of that island with negroes at the rate of seventeen pounds sterling a head. The slaves to be conveyed to the planters of Antigua and Jamaica, under contracts with the Governors of these Colonies, were to be delivered respectively at eighteen and nineteen pounds sterling apiece. It is worthy of note that the right was not specifically conferred upon the Company at this time to enter into an agreement with the Governor of Virginia as to the rates at which Africans were to be sold to the people of that English possession, an omission due perhaps to the fact that the Colony was not yet regarded as an important market for slave labor.[1]

It is questionable whether in 1663 the slave population of the Colony was in excess of fifteen hundred persons. Eight years later it had risen only to two thousand.[2] In

[1] *Dom. Cor. Charles II*, vol. xlvii, No. 162, p. 36; Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1661–1668, p. 120.

[2] Governor Berkeley's Replies to Interrogatories of English Commissioners, Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 515.

1671, Berkeley testified that in the course of the previous seven years the importation of negroes into Virginia did not go beyond two or three cargoes.[1] This statement is confirmed by the evidence of the patent books. The founders of powerful colonial families appear in this decade for the first time as the patentees of large tracts of land on the basis of African head rights. In 1662, Richard Lee obtained a grant upon the presentation of a list of persons that included eighty negroes, the largest number which had previous to this time formed a part of the basis of title. In 1665, Carter of Corotoman sued out a patent that included twenty negroes in its lists of head rights. In a list of sixty-nine belonging to the Scarboroughs, which was made the basis of a single grant, thirty-nine were represented by slaves. In some instances the number of such head rights preponderated to the extent of fifteen to five, and in others they constituted the whole list, ranging as high as fifteen.[2]

In 1672, the Royal African Company received a new charter and became in a few years a powerful agency in the exportation of slaves to America. At first, however, it does not appear to have exercised an increased influence in promoting the transportation of negroes to Virginia. The decade between 1670 and 1680 was one of extraordinary commotion in the affairs of the Colony, owing to the insurrection under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon, an event which was preceded and followed by a state of great impoverishment among the people. In 1679, Culpeper,

[1] Replies to Interrogatories of the English Commissioners, Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 515. In 1664, a Dutch slaver was captured by an English privateer, and, with her living cargo, carried to Virginia. Commissioners were sent by Stuyvesant to the Colony to reclaim the ship and the negroes. *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. II, p. 222.

[2] See *Va. Land Patent Books* for these years.

replying to the instructions from England, which directed him to give an annual account of the number of Africans imported into Virginia, declared that some years previously five or six hundred were introduced every year, but the number now brought in had declined to very small proportions.[1] He was obviously referring to the time which preceded the Rebellion, as in the interval that had passed since its close, the condition of the inhabitants had been such as to prevent their making any purchases. The records of patents, entered between 1670 and 1680, indicate that the increase in the slave population in the course of this period was comparatively insignificant. A striking feature in the character of this interval is the acquisition of the enormous tracts of land upon the basis of head rights represented by white servants almost exclusively. Thus in 1671, a patent to ten thousand acres was obtained by Mr. Smith, yet among the two hundred and one persons forming the list that entitled him to the grant, only four were negroes. Of the one hundred and twenty-two persons who, in 1676, were made the basis by Colonel William Byrd of a patent to seven thousand three hundred and fifty-one acres in Henrico, three alone were Africans, and the proportion was still more insignificant in the list presented by Cadwallader Jones in the same year for the purpose of securing a patent to fourteen thousand one hundred and forty-one acres. In the case of many small grants made during this decade, the proportion was reversed, there being four or five negroes to one or two white servants.[2]

In 1681, Culpeper declared that as yet no slaves had been brought into Virginia by the Royal African Com-

[1] Instructions to Culpeper, 1679. His reply to § 51, *McDonald Papers*, vol. V, p. 314, Va. State Library.

[2] See *Va. Land Patent Books* for these years.

pany ;[1] but this statement does not appear to have been wholly accurate. There was undoubtedly an arrangement with that corporation for the introduction of negroes into the Colony in 1678 ; the agent, however, seems to have been a private person, for he was charged with importing a larger number than he was authorized to do.[2] Culpeper was instructed to allow no ship to sail from Virginia to that part of the Guinea coast which lay within the territory of the Royal African Company, with a view to exchanging tobacco for slaves, unless it had received a special license from the Company itself.[3] He denied, in his reply to this instruction, that any Virginian vessel had at any time in the history of the Colony carried on a traffic with the people of that coast.[4] This, however, could not be said of ships from New England which visited Virginia. In 1682, there arrived in the Rappahannock River a Captain Jackson, in command of a vessel belonging to persons who resided in Piscataqua, N.H., among them Mrs. Cutts, a lady of prominence in that community. Having disposed of his merchandise, he expressed to Colonel Fitzhugh, his principal purchaser, a strong desire to furnish him with a cargo of slaves in the following year. The letter which Fitzhugh wrote in reply to this proposition is of unusual interest, as showing the attitude of the people both of Virginia and of New England towards the race which, nearly two centuries later, were to raise so serious a barrier between

[1] Instructions to Culpeper, 1681–82. His reply to § 59, *British State Papers, Virginia*, vol. 65 ; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 155, Va. State Library.

[2] General Court Orders, *Robinson Transcripts*, pp. 178, 264.

[3] Instructions to Culpeper, 1679, § 50, *McDonald Papers*, vol. V, p. 314, Va. State Library.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1681–1682. Reply to § 58, *British State Papers, Virginia*, vol. 45 ; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 153, Va. State Library.

the North and South. Both Virginian and New Englander, in this case, entered into a contract, in which disposition was to be made of a large number of human beings, in the same spirit as if the objects in which they were trading were so many pipes of wine, casks of rum, or boxes of clothing. In the invoice which was given to Jackson, provision was made for the purchase of a certain number of boys and girls of ages that were not to fall below seven or to rise above twenty-four. These negro youths were to be landed at the wharf of Colonel Fitzhugh, and the payment of the sums agreed upon in return for them was to be secured by bonds, which were to be met within a time carefully prescribed.[1]

There is ground for thinking that the importation of slaves into Virginia through the agency of New England shipowners and merchants increased in importance as the trade with the West Indian Islands enlarged in volume. It will be shown hereafter that a vast quantity of the products of these islands was conveyed to the Colony in New England bottoms and there exchanged for tobacco, which in turn was transported to the mother country. Negroes commanded as ready a sale as rum or sugar in Virginia. It is common to find in the county records, references to the vessels in which young negroes, who had been introduced into court to have their ages adjudged, had been brought into the Colony. The names of New England ships are not infrequently mentioned as the vehicles of their importation.[2]

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Feb. 11, 1682–1683. Jackson may have been bound for Barbadoes.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 432, Va. State Library. The vessel in this case was the *Eunice*. The following is from the *Middlesex Records*: "Know all men by these presents that I John Endicott, Cooper, of Boston in New England, have sold unto Richard Medlicott, a Spanish Mulatto, by name Antonio, I having full power to

After 1682, there is reason to believe that the Royal African Company became either directly or indirectly the principal agent in increasing the African population of Virginia. In the commission which Culpeper received in the course of this year, it was announced that the English Government had recommended to that corporation to furnish the Colony with slaves at very moderate prices, and in return for this benefit, the authorities there were commanded to enforce the payment of all dues to the Company on the part of planters who had purchased negroes from its representatives. Stress was laid in the commission upon the fact that only in this way could its trade be secured, as it was hardly probable that the Company would continue to carry valuable goods to an unprofitable market.[1] Ships were now arriving in the rivers of Virginia directly from the factories on the African coast. Such a vessel was that which came to anchor in the James in 1686, with a large number of negroes consigned to Colonel Byrd, several of whom were smitten with the small-pox, which was thus introduced into his household with fatal consequences in at least one instance.[2] Fitzhugh, writing

sell for his life time, but at ye request of William Taylor, I do sell him but for ten years from ye day that he shall disembark for Virginia, the ten years to begin, and at ye expiration of ye said ten years, ye said Mulatto to be a free man to go wheresoever he pleases. I do acknowledge to have received full satisfaction of Medlicott." Original vol. 1673–1685, p. 126.

[1] Commission to Culpeper, 1682, § 57, *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 38, Va. State Library.

[2] *Letters of William Byrd*, Oct. 18, 1686. Most of the ships arriving at this time having slaves on board, doubtless carried mixed cargoes. This is shown by the following extract from a letter of William Byrd, dated June 21, 1684: "Mr. Paggin (a London merchant) sent about a fortnight since into these parts, 34 negroes with a considerable quantity of dry goods and seven or eight tons of rum and sugar, which I fear will bring our people much into debt and occasion them to be careless with the tobacco they make." *Letters of William Byrd.* These negroes, it seems, were placed in the hands of Mr. Kennon and Mr. Pleasants for sale.

to Ralph Wormeley, refers to the fact that several slave-ships were now expected in York River; "I am so remote," said he, "that before I can have notice, the negroes will all be disposed of, or at least none left but the refuse." Wormeley was, therefore, requested to perform the friendly office of purchasing for him five or six of these Africans when they should reach the Colony.[1] About the same time, Mr. Samuel Simpson, a prominent merchant residing at Queen's Creek, received instructions from the local agent of Mrs. Margaret Fellows of England to buy a certain number of negroes from the master of the *Lady Francis* or the *Katherine*, whichever of the two vessels should be the first to come to anchor in the York.[2] These were slave-ships. The fact that two such vessels were to arrive nearly simultaneously indicates that the volume of importation into this part of the Colony was not inconsiderable. At a later date, Colonel Byrd expresses much regret that the owner of a certain ship, which was expected in the waters of Virginia with a cargo of slaves, was so slow in his voyage. "I suppose," Colonel Byrd remarked, "our parts will be supplied long ere he arrives," a fact that would destroy the market for his human merchandise.[3] Bills for the payment of negroes were now given, to be made good upon the arrival of the first slave-vessel.[4] A habit sprang up at this time among some of the leading colonists of including negroes

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, June 19, 1681. As showing the demand for negroes at this time, the following from one of Fitzhugh's letters may be quoted. A relative, who lived in England, had requested the loan of a considerable sum of money. He replied by saying that "he could hardly, with all his tobacco and anything he could part with, *except negroes*," supply this person with the sum proposed.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 55, Va. State Library.

[3] *Letters of William Byrd*, May 10, 1686.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 569, Va. State Library.

in the invoices of supplies forwarded to their correspondents in England to be filled. The Royal African Company had its agencies in London, and to them the merchants transferred their orders for slaves.[1] It not infrequently happened that a person residing in Virginia directed under his will that property which he owned in the mother country should be sold and the proceeds invested in negroes, a conversion which was doubtless carried out through the same corporation.[2] Many of the slaves in the Colony were imported directly from the West Indies, there being an extensive trade between Virginia and those islands in grain. When Colonel William Byrd and other prominent planters were in need of negroes, they often forwarded orders to their merchants in Barbadoes to return so many along with the cargoes of rum, sugar, and molasses for which invoices were dispatched, the sex, age, and physical points of the slaves to be sent being as carefully specified as the quality and quantity of the articles for consumption.[3] Merchants of this island were also personally engaged in transporting negroes to Virginia with a view to their sale to casual purchasers.[4]

Instructions were given to Lord Howard, in 1687, to punish with the utmost severity all persons who were discovered to be engaged in importing negroes in violation of the exclusive rights of the Royal African Company.[5] Acting upon the letter and the spirit of these instructions, Howard issued orders to Captain Perry of the guard-ship then cruising in Virginian waters, to bar the entrance of

[1] *Letters of William Fitshugh*, July 21, 1692.

[2] Will of John Smyth, *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 101, Va. State Library.

[3] *Letters of William Byrd*, Feb. 10, 1685.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 116.

[5] *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 83; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 97-100, Va. State Library.

every vessel having slaves on board which could not show a license from that corporation.[1] The promptness with which the Governor sought to enforce the commands received from England was probably due in a measure to an event of the same year, which proved that there were shipmasters who, in the absence of this license, would seek to bring their cargoes of negroes into the Colony by stealth. In October, for want of provisions it was afterwards alleged, one hundred and twenty slaves were landed at a lonely point on the Eastern Shore, from the English ship *Society* of Bristol, which, we may infer, had come directly from Africa, since a large quantity of elephants' tusks formed a part of its cargo. The vessel on the same day was allowed to drift on the shore and go to wreck. The Collector of the district seized it, its crew and cargo. The negroes and ivory were sold for tobacco, because they had been forfeited under the law by the failure of their owners to pay the port duties.[2]

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, the number of African head rights in the Patent Books[3] show a notable increase in the importation of slaves. They become now the most important basis of the acquisition of title to land. In numerous cases, the list of names are restricted to negroes, as many as twenty-seven, sixty-four, seventy-nine, and eighty-four being included at one time. The average number, however, was only nine or ten. It had grown now to be a comparative rarity for a patent to be obtained on the basis of head rights representing white servants alone, the proportion of slaves to white servants even in the smaller grants being as high as one-third or even one-fourth.

[1] Instructions for Captain Perry, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1688*, p. 146, Va. State Library.

[2] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 30.

[3] Va. Land Patents in the Register's office at Richmond.

Doubtless, in the greatest number of instances, the negroes who were brought to Virginia from Africa were renamed as soon as they came into the possession of the planters, but this custom is not likely to have been observed so much in the case of slaves who had been drawn from the Spanish islands in the West Indies. The patents from decade to decade are strewn with names of Spanish origin, and traces of African names are also to be detected. Mingo, a contraction of Domingo, was as common at that early date as it was at later periods. Hardly less frequent is the occurrence of such names as Pedro, Sancho, Lopez, Carlos, Francisco, Dago, Magdelena, Andrea, Jubina, Cinchenello, Maria, Palassa, and Antonio, and also Sonora, Rommo, Tomora, Dondo, Wortello, Nandino, Sonero. In several instances whole lists of names are exclusively African in character. The purchaser of imported slaves was evidently frequently at a loss in finding names for his chattels. When they had come from an English Colony in the West Indies, he was in the habit of retaining their English designations, and this accounts in part for the number of Jacks, Kates, Pegs, Toms, Dicks, and Bobs in the lists in the patents. He was, however, in large measure responsible for the Biblical names which are found so frequently, such as Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebecca, Daniel, Isaiah, Emanuel, Ruth, Stephen, Hagar, and Jacob. It was also he who drew on the resources of ancient history, as exhibited in the great number of Alexanders, Cæsars, Pompeys, Scipios, Hannibals, and Neros. Modern history was also ransacked, and sable Cromwells, Robin Hoods, and Rosamunds appeared in Virginia. Mythology offered too rich a fund of names to be allowed to remain unused. Jupiter, Juno, Cyclops, Priapus, Hero, Leander, Pallas, Athena, and Minerva, Mars, Vulcan, and Pan were common. Many of these

were to undergo in time remarkable transformations owing to the looseness and inaccuracy of pronunciation which distinguished the negro. Traces of the originals are still discoverable in names which would have seemed wholly alien to the Greek and Roman ear. Having peopled the Colony with gods, prophets, and generals so far as names could impart these characters, the planters who in the seventeenth century sued out patents on the basis of negro head rights, turned to inanimate objects as designations for their slaves; thus, there were a number of Baskets and Buckles. Great events in history were also employed, such as the Reformation. Physical features too were used in the construction of the lists of names; Barebones and Rawbones were not uncommon. The name of the place from which the slave had come was sometimes added to his Christian name; among the negroes belonging to John Carter of Lancaster County were Accomac Jack and Barbadoes Dick.[1]

So numerous had the slaves become towards the close of the seventeenth century that a planter, stocking a new estate with slaves, was not compelled to rely entirely on the merchants engaged in importing negroes. They could be secured in the Colony of his fellow-planters. The proportion of those who were born in Virginia must now have been important, and it was this class that was justly regarded as being most desirable. In the inventory of the property of John Carter of Lancaster, one of the largest slaveholders in the Colony, great care was taken to distinguish the negroes of Virginian birth from those who had been imported, and there was a marked difference

[1] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 26. Among the negroes owned by Mrs. Sarah Willoughby of Lower Norfolk County was one who was called Pickaninny. He was between twenty and thirty years of age. Original vol. 1666–1675, p. 170.

in their respective appraisements in favor of the former.[1] Colonel Fitzhugh, in a letter which he wrote to a correspondent in London in 1686, mentions incidentally that his plantations were now cultivated by "fine crews" of slaves, the majority of whom were natives of the soil.[2] Some of these had been purchased by him in the Colony. A few years before he had written to William Leigh, who lived in another part of Virginia, to inquire if one hundred pounds sterling, which had been placed in his hands for investment in negroes, could be expended to advantage in this form in the county where Leigh resided. He also conveyed the same request to John Buckner.[3] A memorandum which Fitzhugh gave to his agent, who was about to set out for York, throws still more instructive light on these local purchases of slaves. This agent was directed not to buy more than two women under thirty years of age. The highest price to be paid for a man was twenty pounds sterling, unless he was a negro of extraordinary physical strength. Fifty-four pounds were prescribed as the limit of price for three boys whom a Mr. Walker had expressed a willingness to dispose of, and for two youths whom Major Peyton was prepared to sell, thirty-four were to be offered as the highest figure. The agent was ordered by Colonel Fitzhugh to confine himself strictly to these sums, unless he should find upon inquiry that the ruling prices

[1] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 33.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 22, 1686. The number of slaves now held by the wealthiest planters was often very large. Thus Ralph Wormeley was the owner of ninety-one (see *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1703, p. 115); Robert Beverley, of forty-two (see inventory on file in Middlesex); Mrs. Elizabeth Digges, of one hundred and eight (*William and Mary College Quarterly*, April, 1893, p. 177); Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., of forty (*Records of York*, 1694–1697, p. 261, Va. State Library); and John Carter, of one hundred and six (*Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709).

[3] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, June 27, 1682.

for slaves were so much greater that he would have to return to Rappahannock with his mission unfulfilled if he persisted in his demands. For the negroes to be purchased, payment was to be made in part in certain bills of exchange drawn in favor of Fitzhugh by local debtors, these bills being turned over to the agent when he started upon his journey.[1]

It is a fact of interest that the value of negroes advanced rather than declined as their number in the Colony increased. In 1640, when the black population of Virginia probably did not exceed one hundred and fifty persons, a male African adult commanded about twenty-seven hundred pounds of tobacco, and a female about twenty-five hundred; this amounted to an average price of about eighteen pounds sterling a head, rating that commodity at a penny and a half a pound. Three years later, two negro women and one negro child were assigned in York by Henry Brooke to Nicholas Brooke, a merchant of London, in return for fifty-five hundred pounds of tobacco.[2] The executors of William Pryor in 1647 sold to Captain Chisman of York County four negro men, two negro women, and two negro children for one hundred and fifty pounds sterling, an average value of eighteen pounds.[3] In 1659, a young negro woman in the same county was held at thirty.[4] Ten years after this, it was declared, in a report drawn up by the Committee for Foreign Plantations, that the average price which the newly imported African slaves commanded in Virginia was twenty pounds sterling a head.[5] In 1671, an old

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, June 5, 1682.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 63, Va. State Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 195.

[5] *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 92, pp. 275, 283; Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1661–1668, p. 229.

negro woman was appraised in York County at twenty-four pounds, a young negro woman at thirty-two, a child of the same race, whose age did not exceed one year and a quarter, at four.[1] A few years later, in a purchase of slaves which was made by Mr. Bryan Smith of York County, he gave thirty pounds sterling apiece for five men, twenty-five apiece for two women, thirty apiece for two other women, and fifty-three shillings for a child. In 1682, a young negro man in York was appraised at twenty-six pounds sterling, and a young negro woman and child at twenty-seven.[2] In 1695, two negro men who formed part of the estate of Captain John Goodman of the same county were held at sixty pounds sterling together.[3]

The valuations placed upon the slaves of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., whose inventory was brought into court in 1694, represented doubtless the average appraisement of a large estate in negroes at this time in York. Nine were entered at twenty-eight pounds sterling, ten at twenty-five, three at twenty, one at eighteen, three at sixteen, one at fifteen, one at thirteen, one at twelve, and two at eight.[4] The value of a male child, twelve years old, was placed at twenty pounds sterling; of a girl of ten, at fifteen; one of nine, at twelve; while a girl four years of age was appraised at eight pounds sterling,[5] and another of six years, at ten.[6]

In a letter written by Thomas Howell in Surry County, about 1671, he informs his correspondent that he had just bought a negro there for twenty-six pounds sterling and twelve shillings; "I suppose," he adds, "the most that ever has been given in these parts."[7]

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 318, Va. State Library.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 486.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1694–1702, p. 410.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 263.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 378.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 178.
[7] *Records of Surry County*, vol. 1671–1684, p. 41, Va. State Library.

In 1680, Colonel Fitzhugh, who resided in the Northern Neck, in a letter addressed to Captain William Partis, states that he had entered into a bargain with Mr. Vincent Goddard to pay twenty-nine pounds sterling for two slaves; it is to be presumed that this sum represented what he gave, not for both, but for each one, unless they were mere youths.[1] In the proposal which he made to Captain Jackson in February, 1682, with reference to the cargo of negroes who were to be consigned to him in the following autumn, he states in detail the prices he was willing to pay for them. Three thousand pounds of tobacco were to be the valuation of every boy and girl whose ages ranged from seven to eleven; while for those whose ages ranged from eleven to fifteen, it was to be four thousand, and for those whose ages ranged from fifteen to twenty-five, five. The price of tobacco at this time was from one penny and a half to two pennies a pound.[2]

When the master of the *Society*, the Bristol ship which went ashore in Accomac, came to reward the persons who had assisted him in landing the negroes he had on board, he paid James Lamont thirty pounds sterling in the form of a boy and girl.[3] This is found to be the figure at which two African children were appraised in Henrico County in 1697, the value of a negro man on the same occasion being placed at twenty-five pounds.[4] In Elizabeth City, the prices of slaves in the same decade appear to have been substantially the same as in Henrico. In the inventory of the estate of William Marshall, two negro men were entered at fifty pounds sterling, and

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Dec. 4, 1680.
[2] *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1682–83.
[3] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 30.
[4] *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1697–1704, p. 134.

two negro women at forty-five. A boy, five years of age, was listed at ten pounds, two girls, two and three years of age respectively, at twelve, and an infant seven months of age, at two pounds and ten shillings. In the same year an infant, six months of age, was held at three pounds sterling, and a child, eight years of age, at ten pounds.[1]

In Middlesex County, the prices of slaves seem to have maintained a slightly higher average than in the counties already named. In the estate of Major Robert Beverley, the elder, the inventory being filed in 1687, the value of the men ranged from twenty-six to twenty-eight pounds sterling.[2] Ten years later, the young slaves belonging to the estate of Richard Willis were listed at thirty-one pounds apiece, although in some instances so youthful as to be described as lads. The young women were valued at the same rates.[3] The appraisement of the negroes belonging to Christopher Robinson was still higher. Of the ten who were included in the inventory of his estate, four men were entered at forty pounds apiece, one girl at thirty, and another at twenty-five; one woman at thirty-five pounds, and a woman and child at forty.[4] The valuation of the negroes included in the estate of Ralph Wormeley, the inventory being filed in 1700, was not quite so high. The men and boys were appraised at thirty-five pounds sterling, and the girls at thirty. The prices in Lower Norfolk show no difference from those enumerated in the case of York County. In Rappahannock, in 1695, a negro boy was entered at twenty-six pounds sterling, and a girl at twenty-four. The valuation of adults was perhaps considerably higher.[5]

[1] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, pp. 276, 300.

[2] See inventory on file among Records of Middlesex County.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 57.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1694–1705, p. 188.

[5] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1695–1699, p. 5. The prices

Previous to 1699, the prices at which negroes were held was not increased by a duty on those who were imported. A law, however, was passed in that year, imposing a tax of twenty shillings a head upon each slave introduced into the Colony, to be paid by the master of the ship in which he had been conveyed; and if there was an effort to evade this charge, by landing the negroes without the warrant which had been prescribed in this case, they were to be forfeited and sold for the public benefit. It was stated that the object of this provision was to swell the fund that was required to meet the expense of the erection of a new capitol, the old one having been recently destroyed by fire. There could have been no intention to discourage the introduction of slaves alone, as a duty was also laid upon the white servants brought into Virginia at this time. No tax of this character would have been imposed if the demand for labor in the Colony upon the threshold of the eighteenth century had been as pressing as it had been during so large a part of the seventeenth.[1]

It has already been mentioned that the negro in the seventeenth century was thought to occupy a position in the human family very little removed from that of the ordinary brute. It is interesting to observe the various obstructions, legal as well as moral, which arose when the question of Christianizing him came to be settled. The attitude of many of the planters in the English Colonies in that age towards the moral elevation of the slave through the agency of the church was expressed in the reply of a lady of Barbadoes to Godwyn, the author of the *Negro's and Indian's Advocate* — a work of unusual

of negroes in the two counties on the Eastern Shore did not differ substantially from the prices prevailing elsewhere in the Colony.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 193.

ability and great humanity, — that he might as well baptize puppies as negroes, an utterance rendered the more significant by the fact that in her own life she was remarkable for her exemplary piety and the care she exhibited in the religious education of her own children. Another woman, who enjoyed a good reputation for character and sense, upon Godwyn's administering baptism to one of her slaves, remarked that it would have been equally as efficacious if he had sought by the same ceremony to make a Christian of her black bitch.[1] That this feeling did not spring from mere prejudice or self-interest, is revealed in the fact that there was comparatively little opposition on the part of the planters of Barbadoes to the baptism of mulattoes, who as the descendants of white persons on one side were regarded as having been brought within the pale of humanity. In this island, negroes were instructed to avoid the rooms in which religious exercises were holding by the families of their masters, on the ground that they could not be expected to participate in the hopes and promises which the Christian religion extended. An explanation of the course followed by the West Indians in this respect may in many cases be discovered in the belief, that as long as the slave remained unbaptized he was not responsible for his acts in the sight of God, and as he was incapable of leading a pure life, the administration of the sacrament of baptism to him would expose him to certain damnation. A number of masters were influenced by an apprehension that if the negroes were improved in their mental condition by instruction, they might rise up against their owners and deluge the island in blood. Others were moved by the consideration, that if the slave were baptized it would

[1] Godwyn's *Negro's and Indian's Advocate*, p. 38. I am indebted to Godwyn for all the details that follow. See pp. 43 *et seq.*

be necessary to show more scruple in governing him, the conscience of each planter as well as the force of public opinion requiring him to furnish his slave with more palatable food and more comfortable lodgings, and to inflict punishments with less severity under the circumstances. It was even supposed by some that the act of baptizing the negro destroyed the right of his owner to his service, and that he was thereafter entitled to all the privileges of an English citizen.

Godwyn declares that the same general views as to the impropriety of Christianizing slaves prevailed in Virginia, and that their conversion was thought to be so idle and unmeaning, that the reputation for good sense of the man who suggested it was seriously impaired. This statement was made by Godwyn in 1681, and seems to have exaggerated the state of feeling in the Colony with reference to the moral elevation of the negroes held there in bondage. It is a fact worthy of note that one of the two African children included in the muster of 1624–25, William, the son of Anthony and Isabel, two negroes who belonged to Captain Tucker, was entered in the general list as having received baptism.[1] This privilege was conferred over half a century before Godwyn published his treatise. A still more interesting case occurred in 1641. John Grawere, who is represented as an African servant of William Evans, was the father of a child by a slave who belonged to Robert Sheppard. He expressed great anxiety that this child should be baptized, and afterwards brought up in the knowledge of religion as taught in the church of England. Being permitted by his master to keep a number of hogs, Grawere was able to accumulate from his annual sales a small fund with which he purchased the freedom of his offspring. The court declared that the disposition

[1] Hotten's *Original List of Emigrants, 1600–1700*, p. 244.

and instruction of the child should be left to his father and godfather, who pledged themselves that he should be educated in the Christian belief.[1]

The Council for Foreign Plantations were so much interested in the religious condition of the slaves residing in Barbadoes and Virginia, that in 1661 they directed that a letter should be written to the authorities in those Colonies, commanding them to encourage the introduction of ministers of the Gospel who would devote themselves to the reclamation of the newly imported negroes with a view to preparing them for baptism.[2] The notion that the act of baptizing a slave operated to release him from bondage was certainly prevalent in Virginia at one time, but the indisposition which it created in planters to extend the comforts of religion to their negroes was entirely removed by the passage of the law in 1667, that the administration of the sacrament of baptism to them effected no change in their legal condition.[3] It was expressly stated in this statute that its object was to encourage masters to promote the propagation of Christianity by permitting their slaves to come within the pale of the Christian Church. This law would perhaps have been adopted at an earlier date if the negroes had previously constituted a very important element in the general population. As late, however, as 1648, there were only three hundred persons of African blood in the Colony, and in 1667, the number could not have exceeded eighteen hundred, and very probably fell

[1] General Court Orders, March 31, 1641, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 30. An additional instance, which occurred in 1655, is preserved in the *Records of York County*, vol. 1657-1662, p. 45, Va. State Library. Ann Barnhouse gave Mihill Gowen a male negro child, born of the body "of my negro Rosa, being baptized by Edward Johnson, Sept. 2, 1655." William, the name of the child, was the son of Mihill.

[2] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. XIV, No. 59.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 260.

very much below that number.[1] In the instructions which Culpeper received in 1682 from the English Government, he was enjoined to inquire as to what would be the best means of facilitating the conversion of the slaves to the Christian religion, only it was added that caution was to be shown in taking any steps that tended to throw in jeopardy individual property in the negro, or to render less stable the safety of the Colony.[2]

Under the terms of the statute passed in 1670, all servants who were imported into Virginia who had not been brought up in the Christian religion, and who, therefore, were still unbaptized, were held to be servants for life. It is significant that the word "negro" was not used, although the law was really designed to cover the case of the African slaves, who were now introduced into the Colony in increasing numbers. After an interval of twelve years, in which comparatively few negroes were brought in, in consequence of the poverty of the planters following upon the agitation that led up to and succeeded Bacon's Rebellion, this statute was repealed on the ground that it seriously obstructed further additions from without to the slave population, because many of the negroes who arrived in Virginia had come from lands where Christianity prevailed, and where they had received the rite of baptism.[3] The owners of such negroes, when they reached the Colony, either had to undergo the complete loss of their property or had to incur the heavy expense of returning them to the country from which they had been exported, or of sending them to some place where converted slaves were

[1] In 1671 the slave population was estimated by Berkeley at two thousand. Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 515.

[2] Commission to Culpeper, 1682, § 65, *McDonald State Papers*, vol. VI, p. 43, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 283, 491.

no was guilty of the act was compelled t
e amount which he had received in di
he adoption of this provision as a part of t
w indicated that within the lines in whi
on of slavery operated, the General Assen
ined that no injustice should be done to t
uld justly claim their freedom. This
tablished by the revised code of 1705, but i
sentiment in the latter part of the seventc
The first dispute as to ownership in an in
ems to have arisen in 1625, when an Af
en captured by an English ship from
as brought into the Chesapeake. The c
ssel died and the question arose as to the
e negro. Did he belong to the heirs of
the sailors who manned the ship, or to
thorities? The General Court, passing u
the case, decided that he should become t
e Governor without regard to any expresse
ptain before his death, or any challenge o
e ship's company. The reason for this deci
obably that the negro had been seized wl
as navigating in a public capacity and ho

household goods, horses, cows, oxen, and hogs.[1] It was not infrequent for Virginian testators to leave instructions in their wills that certain negroes should be sold for the payment of their debts, directions that had their motive probably in the greater readiness with which this form of personal property could be disposed of with little danger of sacrifice.[2] Under the provisions of the revised code of 1705, which is of importance in our inquiry from the light it throws on public feeling in the seventeenth century, the slave was declared to be real estate unless he was still held by a merchant who was seeking to sell him, in which case he was decided to be personalty. His legal status was highly anomalous under this modification of the original law, which had provided that he should be held to be personalty under all circumstances. Although a form of real estate by the code of 1705, he was nevertheless liable to be sold for the payment of debts, but no record was required to be made of such a sale, a step that was essential in the case of land. If unlawfully carried off, he was recoverable by an action of trover as if he constituted one branch of personal property. He could not be made, like ordinary real estate, the basis of a claim to all the privileges of a freeholder.[3]

The rule was in operation in Virginia from an early date, that the child should follow the condition of the mother, which was the adoption of the English provision, *partus sequitur ventrem*.[4] The necessity of deciding as to

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 288; *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 457, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, pp. 68, 106.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, pp. 333, 334.

[4] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 219. See, also, Green's *Short History of the English People*, illustrated, vol. I, p. 28. See, however, the discussion of the relation of Status to Nativity in Vinogradoff's *Villainage in England*.

the applicability to the Colony of this provision arose as soon as the first mulatto sprung from a white father was born. Was the condition of the father or the mother to be the condition of the child? Interest as well as the transmitted law of the English people bearing upon the precise point dictated that the child should be a slave, and during the whole existence of the institution of bondage in Virginia, there was no relaxation in the enforcement of this regulation. It was considered to be unjust to place young negroes on the footing of tithables until they had acquired strength to labor in the fields.[1] In 1658, all imported slaves above sixteen were listed for taxation.[2] Twelve years was decided to be the proper age in 1680,[3] but at a later period sixteen was again adopted, and the list of the youthful tithables was made up when the season for working tobacco arrived. All African children brought into the Colony were required to be introduced before the court in three months after they had reached Virginia, in order to have their ages properly adjudged.[4] To ensure absolute accuracy in the returns of young slaves, there was at one time a provision that the birth of every black or mulatto child who first saw the light in the Colony should be entered in the registry of the parish where he or she was born.[5] The negroes remaining in the hands of merchants and factors were exempted from the operation of the levy because they were not in the list of tithables.[6]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 479.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 454.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 480.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

[5] Purvis, 1672, p. 179; Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 296.

[6] On the petition of John Pleasants and the motion of Richard Kennon, consignees of William Paggin and Company, "desiring the resolution of this Right Worshipful Court concerning some negroes of the said Company consigned them to sell, but at ye time of listing tithables,

The penalty for omitting a slave tithable was the loss of the slave.[1]

It is a striking fact that all negresses born in Virginia, when above sixteen years of age, were rated as tithable whether their labors were confined to the house or to the fields, differing very widely in this respect from the white female servants, who were not listed if the work they were called upon to perform was exclusively domestic.[2] There was an indisposition, as we have already seen, on the part of the planters to employ white women in agriculture, however great might be the demand for their assistance in the cultivation of tobacco at certain seasons, and it was only those individuals of the sex who were tarnished in reputation or slatternly in habits who were found engaged in this way. This discrimination between female servants and female slaves has been attributed to various causes. By some, it is thought to have been due to a desire in the colonial authorities to discourage the importation of negroes.[3] This reason seems to be untenable. It would appear to be more probable that the exemption of the white female domestic servants from taxation was at least partly designed to promote the introduction of white women without any reference to female slaves. The number of the former who were brought into Virginia under articles of indenture was necessarily smaller than the number of white men imported who were bound by

remaining in their possession undisposed of: It is the opinion of the Court that the said Kennon and Pleasants ought not to pay levy for them this year, because the said negroes being goods belonging to merchants in England, ought not in any reasonable time to put them to more charge by taxes than other of their commodities imported hither." *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1682–1701, p. 81, Va. State Library.

[1] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 53.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 296.

[3] This was the view of Mr. Bancroft, the historian.

similar covenants. The Assembly were perhaps anxious to lessen the disproportion, and the law referred to was well calculated to produce the condition desired; such a law might easily have been considered advisable even if the institution of slavery had not obtained a foothold in the Colony. That no discrimination against the African was intended is disclosed in the fact that all Indian female slaves, whether employed indoors or in the fields, were also deemed to be tithables. Doubtless also the negroes, without regard to sex, more especially those who had not been born in Virginia, were in the beginning thought to be unfit for domestic service, being awkward in person and untrained in manners. White women who had been brought from England were numerous, and they were obviously better fitted for household work than the raw female slaves, and but poorly adapted to the heavy tasks of the fields, in which a greater strength and a higher power of endurance gave the negress a marked superiority. In the latter part of the century, however, African domestics became extremely common, there being an increasing number of slaves who had been born in Virginia, from among whom each master could select those who seemed most capable of being trained for household duties. The amiability and docility which they displayed in the fields made them agreeable and attractive also as household servants, and in this character they grew more popular with the progress of each decade. Colonel William Byrd mentions incidentally in his correspondence in 1684, that his wife had often urged him to send their youthful daughter to England, as it was impossible for her to learn anything in a great family of negroes.[1] The households of many other planters of wealth must have been largely constituted of slaves. The wills of this period show that young

[1] *Letters of William Byrd*, March 31, 1684.

African women were frequently bequeathed to daughters to serve as their maids.[1] It may be inferred from these facts that if the comparative rarity of female domestic slaves in the beginning was one of the causes leading to the inclusion of all negresses in the list of tithables, that cause ceased to operate by the time the last decade of the century had been reached, but the reasons prompting a desire to promote an increase in the number of the white female servants would still remain in force. It is not improbable, however, that the exemption of white women employed in household service from taxation, was due in the greatest measure to a wish on the part of the Assembly to encourage the withdrawal of all members of that sex and race from the field. By removing the tax from them when thus occupied and at the same time allowing it to remain on the negresses, engaged in the performance of household duties, it was made plainly to the interest of the planter to confine his choice of female domestic servants to individuals of his own color, and this was a consideration which only citizens of fortune could afford to overlook.

The testimony is contradictory as to whether the owner

[1] See Will of Thomas Cocke, *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1688–1697, p. 687. Cocke bequeathed to his daughter, Agnes Harwood, a mulatto girl, who was to be employed as Mrs. Harwood thought fit, except that she was not to be ordered to "beat at the mortar or to work in the ground." "My will is that she may be an ease to my daughter's own person, and that the girl may be well and kindly used, and I also give with her, the weaver's loom and all the stages and harness to the same, with all other appurtenances thereto, all of which is to be enjoyed by my daughter, to be used by the girl, Sue. At my daughter's death, the girl and loom to pass to her son Thomas." Cocke thus concludes: "My will is that ye girl be well used in all her time of service, whoever shall happen to be her master or mistress, for if she shall bee by any of them notoriously abused, my will is that shee shall have liberty to choose which of my sons she pleases for her master to live with."

of a negress was relieved from the payment of the levies in case she became so disabled, either temporarily or permanently, as to be incapable of work. In an instance of this kind, the court of Henrico, in 1697, decided that the law exempting poor and impotent persons from taxation did not apply to such a woman, however grievous the disease from which she was suffering.[1] On the other hand, the court of Lancaster declared that the master of a slave in this condition could not be required to pay the county and public levies on her account.[2]

The principal tax fell upon slaves and servants because the land was thought to be sufficiently burdened already in the payment of quit-rents. Tobacco, on the other hand, was subject to the export duty of two shillings a hogshead, and it was supposed could bear no further imposition. Personal property in the form of horses, hogs, and cattle was looked upon as being of a value too small and uncertain to be made a subject for taxation.[3]

The life which the slaves followed as agricultural laborers could not have differed essentially from that of the white servants engaged in the performance of the same duties; the tasks expected of both were the same, and in the fields, at least, no discrimination seems to have been made in favor of the latter. During the greater part of the seventeenth century, the negro was regarded as a mere servant for life, and as a laborer differed in that particular alone from the white person who was bound for a period of years. The opportunities open to the indented white man were innumerable, but they

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1699, orders June 1, 1697, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1680–1686, orders July 8, 1685.

[3] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 55.

bore chiefly upon the time when his service would end. He could always entertain a reasonable hope of final improvement in his condition, but, while his term lasted, he stood practically upon the same footing as the meanest slave, in the duties to be performed by him. On the whole, the work of the latter could not have been very burdensome. We have the testimony of those who had observed the operations of both the Virginian and the foreign systems, that the negroes in the Colony were not required to labor for as many hours as the common husbandmen abroad, nor were they pressed as hard in their tasks.[1] Side by side in the field, the white servant and the slave were engaged in planting, weeding, suckering, or cutting tobacco, or sat side by side in the barn manipulating the leaf in the course of preparing it for market, or plied their axes to the same trees in clearing away the forests to extend the new grounds.[2] The same holidays were allowed to both, and doubtless, too, the same privilege of cultivating small patches of ground for their own private benefit. In the matter of food, however, the negro did not enjoy the same advantage as the white servant, the substance of his fare being plainer and less costly;[3] his meals consisted of hominy, mush, maize-bread, pork, potatoes, and other vegetables,[4] — victuals which were, perhaps, more palatable than those in

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 220. "I can assure you, with great truth, that generally their slaves are not worked near so hard nor so many hours in a day as the husbandmen and day laborers in England." Again, "The work of their servants and slaves is no other than what every common freeman does," p. 220.

[2] For an illustration of the intimate association of white servants and negro slaves in their work, see *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 206, Va. State Library.

[3] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 219.

[4] Hugh Jones' *Present State of Virginia*, p. 40.

reach of the English day laborer in the same age. The slaves of the seventeenth century had probably more ground for satisfaction in this respect than the slaves of the nineteenth, whose staple food was maize-bread and bacon. The negro of the seventeenth century also required less expensive clothing than the white servant. In the advertisement of a slave who had run away from his master, which was placed on record in York County in 1686, he is described as having been dressed in "red cotton," and as wearing "a waistcoat, canvas drawers, and a broad brim black hat."[1] In another case, the clothing of an African slave consisted of a full suit, a doublet, a pair of drawers, a pair of shoes and a cap.[2]

The county records of the seventeenth century show that the negro quarter had become a recognized part of the plantation buildings in the eighth and ninth decades.[3] The contents of the houses were of the simplest character, as may be discovered by an examination of contemporaneous inventories. An instance may be given by way of illustration. In the Stratton inventory brought before the Henrico court in 1697, the furniture and utensils in the cabin of one of the slaves are enumerated, and they consisted of several chairs and a bed, an iron kettle weighing fifteen pounds, a brass kettle, an iron pot, a pair of pot-racks, a pothook, a frying-pan and a beer-barrel.[4]

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 215, Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[3] In an old Survey preserved among the Ludwell Papers, a part of the Manuscript Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, it is stated that one of the lines "stopped at a poplar tree by the negroes' quarter." This estate belonged to Secretary Ludwell, 1678. The plantations of all the principal landowners were divided into Quarters. See, for examples, the wills and inventories of Ralph Wormeley and Robert Beverley on record or file in the clerk's office of Middlesex County.

[4] *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1697–1704, p. 138. See, also, *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 190, Va. State Library.

Not only was the slave a source of smaller expense than the white servant in point of food and clothing, and perhaps in lodgings, but it is highly probable in the matter of medical attendance also. The planters incurred very considerable loss from the seasoning through which the white laborers, with few exceptions, passed on their first arrival in Virginia. Valuable time thus slipped away before any return was derived from their labor. The white servants not infrequently died as the result of this attack of illness, and the money or tobacco expended in their purchase was thrown away. The slaves do not appear to have been subject to this form of sickness, and were much less affected by exposure to the oppressive heat of the sun in the months of July, August, and September. It is an interesting fact that of the twenty negroes who were imported in 1619, the first who had arrived in the Colony, not one had died previous to 1624, an indication of the ease with which they stood the deleterious influences of the climate. There was at this time no parallel instance in the history of the white servants.

There is no reason to doubt that the planters were as a body just and humane in their treatment of their slaves. The solicitude exhibited by John Page of York was not uncommon: in his will, he instructed his heirs to provide for the old age of all the negroes who descended to them from him, with as much care in point of food, clothing, and other necessaries, as if they were still capable of the most profitable labor.[1] Occasionally, the records of the

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 138, Va. State Library. Slaves, it would seem, were not permitted to hold property, as the following regulation shows: "Horses, cattle, and hogs marked with the mark of a slave, to be converted by the owner of the slave to the uses and marks of the owner; otherwise forfeited to the Parish." Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 103.

county courts reveal instances of great cruelty on the part of unfeeling masters, as when Samuel Gray, a minister of the Gospel, bound his runaway slave, who was still a mere boy, to a tree and compelled another slave to beat him until he died.[1] There were also cases in which children were torn from their mothers at an age when such separation would be a cause of poignant grief to the parent.[2] Suicide among adults was not unknown. In 1690, Bess, a negro woman belonging to Colonel William Byrd, threw herself into Falling Creek and was drowned. There is no light as to her motive.[3]

The increase in the number of negroes in the Colony towards the close of the century, the population of two thousand in 1671 having probably risen to six thousand by 1700, enlarged the opportunities of employment for persons who wished to follow the occupation of an overseer. Many of the slaves who had been imported had been imported directly from Africa, and were savages of a very gross type unaccustomed to any form of restraint. It was observed that those among them who had been important men in their tribes were insolent, haughty, and obstinate, and while this class was necessarily small, their characteristics must have been shared in a measure by such of their fellows as had never before been compelled to labor steadily and continuously. The supervision of

[1] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1705, p. 238.

[2] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 20, Va. State Library. In this case, Elizabeth Craik bequeathed to one daughter, Frances by name, a negress and the third child to be born of her; to a second daughter, Elizabeth Moss, the first and second child to be born of the same woman. "I will that the two children the said negro woman shall happen to bear to the use of Elizabeth (Moss), be and remain with the mother until they shall be one year old, and that then they may be taken away."

[3] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 170, Va. State Library.

an overseer was required, to make them perform the various tasks to which they were set. Even if superintendence had been unnecessary in the case of the white servants, which, as has been seen, it was not, it would have been called for as soon as slaves, whether crude barbarians or men already trained for their work, began to be introduced in any number.

There are indications at an early date of improper sexual relations between white men and slave women, a condition to be expected from the intimate association of members of the two races in the performance of their daily tasks. This immoral intercourse was not, however, confined on the part of the whites to the indented male servants. One of the charges brought against Lawrence, the principal adviser of Bacon in the insurrection of 1676, was that he worshipped the goddess Venus in the person of his female slave, but that his course of conduct was as much disapproved of in that age by the general sentiment of the community as it was in later times, is shown by the great scandal it created at Jamestown.[1] As early as 1630, one Hugh Davis, who was discovered in the same relation with a negress, was roundly lashed in public, and compelled to acknowledge his fault before the congregation with which he worshipped.[2] Nine years later, Robert Sweet, who is described in a patent to him in 1628 as "gentleman,"[3] having been detected in the same offence,

[1] The following is from the *Archives of Maryland, Court and Testamentary Business*, vol. 1649–1657, p. 114: "The complainant prosecuting against the defendant upon an action of defamation, for that the defendant reported here that he had heard one Thomas Gutridge in Virginia say that the plaintiff had got one of his negroes with child, and that he had a black bastard in Virginia, which report the complainant saith tends much to his disgrace and defamation, which he values at 20,000 lbs."

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 146.

[3] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 70.

was ordered to appear in the church of the parish in which he resided, in a white sheet, according to the English ecclesiastical laws, while the woman who was the other party to the act of self-indulgence received a sound whipping.[1] A case is recorded in Lower Norfolk County in which a white man and his black paramour were required to stand up together in the same situation dressed in white sheets and holding white rods in their hands.[2] The public sentiment of the Colony was not content with leaving the punishment to the operation of church laws; a general statute was passed imposing a heavy fine upon all white men who were guilty of criminal intimacy with female slaves, and this was the regulation at the time when the number of negroes in Virginia did not exceed several hundred.[3] Nevertheless, the permanent relations between white men and negresses were maintained to a more or less open extent. A somewhat remarkable case came to light in 1697. In that year a mulattress entered a petition in the Lancaster court praying that she should be set free. She claimed that she had been purchased by John Beaching from Mrs. Elizabeth Spencer in consideration of his tanning one thousand hides. He had caused her and her child to be baptized, and if the assertion of the petition was to be relied on, had promised to marry her, an evidence that he was the father of her offspring and that he had lived with her without disguise. The jury to whom the question of her freedom was submitted, decided in her favor as against Mrs. Spencer, who was a member of one of the most powerful families in the Colony.[4]

The punishment inflicted upon a white woman for

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 552.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 113.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 170.

[4] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1696–1702, p. 43.

giving birth to a bastard whose father was a negro or a mulatto was stern and emphatic.[1] As has been previously stated, if she were free she was required to pay fifteen pounds sterling, and if unable to do this, she was delivered into the hands of the church wardens of the parish and sold for a period of five years.[2] If, however, she was not in the enjoyment of her freedom, but was a servant whose term had not expired, as soon as it came to an end she was disposed of by the wardens for the same length of time. Her child was appropriated by the parish until he or she was thirty years of age. In addition, the white mothers of negro bastards were frequently taken to the county seat and there publicly whipped by the sheriff. In some cases, the court directed that if such a woman after securing her freedom remained in the county, she was to be banished to the West Indies.[3]

It is no ground for surprise that in the seventeenth century there were instances of criminal intimacy between white women and negroes. Many of the former had only recently arrived from England, and were, therefore, comparatively free from the race prejudice that was so likely

[1] See an indictment of such a woman preserved in the *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 420. See also *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 322, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 87.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 83, Va. State Library. The woman in this case was of English birth, Ann Wall by name. She was the mother of two bastards by a negro whom she claimed as her husband. She was brought before court and ordered to pay fifteen pounds sterling, in default of which she was to be sold as a servant for a term of five years. It appears that she was unable to secure the amount necessary, and in consequence was turned over to Mr. Peter Hobson, the court declaring at the same time that if, after she obtained her freedom, "she presumed to come into this county (Elizabeth City) she shall be banished to Island of Barbadoes." Her bastards were also delivered to Hobson, to be held until they were thirty years of age.

to arise upon close association with the African for a great length of time.[1] There must have been by the middle of the century a number of mulattoes in the Colony, sprung from black mothers, who were less repulsive in person and manners than the average negro. The class of white women who were required to work in the fields belonged to the lowest rank in point of character; not having been born in Virginia and not having thus acquired from birth a repugnance to association with Africans upon a footing of social equality, they yielded to the temptations of the situations in which they were placed. The offence, whether committed by a native or an imported white woman, was an act of personal degradation that was condemned by public sentiment with as much severity in the seventeenth century as at all subsequent periods.[2] Mulattoes were referred to by the law as an "abominable mixture,"[3] and the mere fact that a marriage ceremony had given apparent sanctity to the relations resulting in such births, did not in the eyes of the community at large make this mixture of whites and blacks less odious in its character. So repugnant to popular feeling became all physical commerce between the races that intermarriages between their members were strictly forbidden, and the minister

[1] See *Richmond Dispatch*, Saturday, June 30, 1894. A letter from Warrenton, Va., dated June 29, gives a case occurring in 1894, which shows that the absence of this prejudice, arising from the same fact, leads to the same result occasionally in the present century.

[2] How degraded were the white women who had sexual intercourse with negroes in the seventeenth century is very clearly shown in a revolting series of depositions relating to the case of Mrs. Watkins, preserved in the *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, pp. 191–195, Va. State Library. See the characterization of Mrs. Hyde of York, who is referred to (the exact words are too gross to be quoted) as a woman of such abandoned character that she would admit even a negro to her embraces. Vol. 1694–1697, p. 14, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 86.

who disregarded the provision to this effect was made subject to a fine of ten thousand pounds of tobacco.[1] If a negress gave birth to a bastard child[2] who was entirely of her own color, proving that its father was of African blood, she was sent by her master to the county seat to be chastised by the sheriff. The child remained the property of her owner. If the mother of a full-blooded negro bastard happened to be free, but was bound for a term of years at the time of its birth, she was required by way of punishment to remain in the same service for an additional period of twenty-four months, and she was also soundly whipped for the offence.[3] The child was placed at the disposal of the church wardens of the parish.

In proportion to the population of African blood, there were as many runaways among the slaves as among the white servants. Maryland seems to have been the province in which the largest number of the fugitives escaping beyond the boundaries of the Colony took refuge. A case may be mentioned which shows the means employed in recovering absconding negroes previous to the middle of the century. In the course of the fourth decade, special

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 454.

[2] No provision was made by the laws of Virginia in the seventeenth century for the legal marriage of negro slaves. The status then was doubtless the same as it was in the nineteenth; that is to say, the marriages of slaves were not recognized in law. Slaves, however, were married with religious services performed by ministers of the Gospel. A negro bastard was one born either of a slave African mother who had not been married with the ordinary religious ceremony to the father of the child, or of a free African mother who had not been married according to the regulations prescribed by law. The child of a white woman by a negro or mulatto was, under all circumstances, a bastard, as marriage between individuals of the two races was not allowed by law. In the same way, the child of a negress was, under all circumstances, a bastard if its father was a white man.

[3] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1682–1701, p. 190, Va. State Library.

permission was granted to John Mottrom and Edward Fleet to use a section of the train bands, with such a quantity of arms and ammunition as they would require, in overtaking certain slaves who had fled from them. The men impressed to take part in this service were to be paid out of the public levy of the counties in which they resided, and satisfaction was to be made in the same manner to the owners of the boats used in the pursuit. The negroes when caught were to be brought back, and after being whipped, were to be put to work again in the field.[1]

Whatever disposition may have existed among the slaves to steal away from the plantations to which they belonged, was due in some measure to the influence and example of the restless or discontented white servants, who were bolder, more energetic, and more enterprising than members of the African race. The list of laborers on every large estate in the last quarter of the seventeenth century included both negroes and white men; brought together in intimate and constant association, the slaves were naturally very susceptible to the improper persuasions of their white companions, and consequently special laws had to be passed to punish the white servants who absconded in company with them. Not all of the negroes, however, who were guilty of the offence of running away were prompted to do so by the influence of individuals of the other race. A large proportion of the slaves, especially in the period following 1670, had only been recently imported into the Colony, and being African savages unaccustomed to a life of labor and restraint, it is not strange that many should have felt and acted upon the impulse to seek freedom by flight. This part of the black population had not yet acquired an

[1] General Court Orders, June 30, 1640, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 13.

attachment to the plantations of their masters owing to their recent importation. One of the most powerful influences that fostered a steady and sober spirit in the negroes who were natives of the soil, was thus entirely absent in the case of the imported slaves unless they had reached the Colony whilst still very young.

It was not until 1672, that we discover indications of open discontent among the negroes of Virginia. An Act of Assembly passed in that year reveals the fact that there were slaves in rebellion in different parts of the Colony at this time, and that it had been found so far impossible to subdue and capture them.[1] There does not appear to have been any movement among them resembling an organized insurrection; it was rather a number of cases in which two or more, or even one, had taken refuge in the fastnesses of the wilderness of forest. Abandoning as hopeless all thought of seizing these fugitives by peaceful means, the House of Burgesses authorized whoever should seek to capture them, whether by legal warrant or by hue and cry, to kill them on the spot if they attempted to resist arrest. The master of every slave who perished under these circumstances received satisfaction for his loss at the public charge to the extent of four thousand five hundred pounds of tobacco. If the successful effort to seize the negro resulted in wounding him, his owner was recouped in proportion to the loss entailed by his sickness, which probably included the medical expense of the cure, payment being made in the form of a certificate, which was to be presented to the General Assembly to be honored. In every instance in which a slave had fled to an Indian town, its chief was required to bring him before the nearest justice of the peace, receiving as a reward a certain amount of roanoke,

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 299

or merchandise if he preferred.[1] All absconding negroes who were arrested, but whose owners were unknown, were directed by an order of court passed in 1691 to be forwarded to Jamestown, where they remained until claimed, the masters of fugitives sending thither their marks and descriptions.[2] There were cases in which the names of slaves, who had run away and become notorious outlaws by the outrages they committed, were referred to in special laws of the Assembly. Such a case was that of the negro who, about 1700, took refuge in the woods extending over the greater part of the counties of James City, York, and New Kent, and who was charged with ravaging the crops, perpetrating robberies, and carrying the greatest consternation into every community in which he appeared. A reward of one thousand pounds was offered for the body of this runaway, whether produced dead or alive. It was declared to be a felony to entertain him. It would seem from this that a number of white persons were either in collusion with him, or were afraid to arrest him when he came to their houses.[3]

A few years previous to this, a mulatto, who had fled from his master, Ralph Wormeley of Middlesex, concealed himself in the fastnesses of Rappahannock County. He drew around him a number of negro accomplices, and in a short time became an object of popular terror; he carried off numerous hogs, and went so far as to break into one of his master's stores, from which he took away a quantity of goods, including several carbines. He was at last forced to surrender.[4]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 299, 300.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 110, Va. State Library; *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 267, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 210.

[4] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1691, orders Nov. 9, 1691.

All the laws relating to fugitive negroes refer to the number who were at large in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the evil was so crying in itself, and so likely to lead to worse consequences, that the most summary disposition of runaways, who refused to return to their masters by submitting to arrest, was allowed with the full concurrence of public sentiment.[1] As a slave could not be punished like a servant who had raised his hand against his master, by an extension of his term, his owner was permitted instead to inflict corporal punishment upon him. If he happened to die in consequence of the severity of this punishment, the master was not held to have been guilty of felony, it being the presumption of the law that the act was devoid of malice, as no man would voluntarily and intentionally destroy his own property. This law was one of the first indications in colonial legislation that the increasing importation of negroes was arousing apprehension among the planters of a possible outbreak on the part of the slaves. A still more unmistakable evidence of this feeling appears in a measure passed in 1680,[2] which was the reënactment in a more rigid form of the law of 1639,[3] prohibiting the use by a negro of all instruments of offence or defence, such as clubs, swords, guns, and staffs. If he raised a weapon to strike or shoot a Christian, whether his master or not, he was to be punished by the infliction of thirty lashes on his bare back. Twice during the course of each year the minister of each parish was required after the second lesson in the divine service to read this statute to his congregation,[4] and a failure to do so was an indictable offence.

No slave was allowed to leave the plantation of his master without a certificate of permission to go abroad,

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 86.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 481, 482.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 226.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 492.

and this permission was only to be granted when he was sent off on an important errand. If he was found wandering about without the passport required by law, he was taken before the nearest justice of the peace, who, after giving him a whipping, forwarded him to the constable in the adjacent county, who in his turn repeated the whipping, and then delivered him to the constable beyond, and this course was continued until the slave finally reached the hands of his master. If he was allowed to escape by the carelessness of one of these constables, the owner could recover a large sum in a court of law. No strange negro was suffered to remain on a plantation four hours after his first appearance unless he had in his possession a certificate showing that his absence from home was properly authorized.[1]

It reveals the great importance attached by the officials to the various laws for the prevention of slave insurrections, that Governor Andros, in 1694, issued a strong proclamation calling attention to the general remissness in their enforcement, in consequence of which, negroes had run together in certain parts of the Colony, causing assemblages so dangerous as to threaten the peace of the whole community. He commanded that no certificates should be given to slaves allowing them to go off the estates of their masters, and in order that this injunction should come to the ears of all the planters, he required that his proclamation should be read in the churches, at the musters and militia meetings, and on every occasion of great publicity.[2]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 481, 493. An instance in which four hundred pounds of tobacco were recovered by a planter on account of the default of a constable under these circumstances is recorded in *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 282, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, pp. 22, 23, Va. State Library.

When a slave was guilty of murder, he was arrested by the sheriff of the county in which the felony had occurred, and thrown into jail, and there he remained in irons until his case was brought to trial. The first step to this was the transmission of information to the Governor that the crime had been committed; upon the reception of this information, that official directed that an oyer and terminer be issued to such persons residing in the county where the slave was held, whom he considered to be fit to determine the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. In the inquiry which they at once instituted, the accused could be convicted on the testimony of himself or two reputable witnesses, or one witness whose testimony was supported by strong circumstantial evidence. He could not claim the privilege of a trial by jury.[1] The expenses entailed in supporting the slave during the time of his stay in jail were provided for in the public levy.[2] If he was hung, the justices decided upon his value and returned a certificate embodying their estimate to the General Assembly, who made an appropriation to the master equal to the stated amount.[3] Rape of white women, which has become the most characteristic crime of the African since his emancipation in the nineteenth century, was also committed by him in the seventeenth.[4] An ordinary assault by a slave even upon a white man was punished by a severe whipping only.[5] When the offence was attended by aggravated circumstances and the person guilty of it was a free negro, male or female, the infliction of stripes

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 103.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 16, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 270.

[4] Nov. 25, 1677, General Court Orders, 1677–1682. "Strong measures to be taken for apprehending Robin, a negro who had ravished a white woman." *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 264.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 343, Va. State Library.

upon his or her back was followed by imprisonment, which continued until the costs were paid and security for good behavior was given. In 1693, an action of trespass was brought in the county court of York by a well-known planter named Sampson and his wife against a negress and her husband, on the ground that they had made a violent attack upon the person of Mrs. Sampson and threatened to take her life. Of this offence, the negress was convicted. She was whipped by the sheriff of the county until she had received twenty-nine lashes, and was then thrown into jail to remain until she could find some one to go on her bond to keep the peace. Her character was considered to be so dangerous and her life so disorderly, that the court entered a rule that unless she could show that her claim to freedom was capable of the most irrefutable proof, she should be transported from the Colony. Not being able to show this, she was sent out of Virginia as a person whose presence was calculated to disturb the peace of the community. When the act of the slave amounted only to a menace, the person who was the object of this menace could compel the master of the negro to give bond as a security for his good behavior.[1]

The petty offences of negroes involving the interests of their masters only were dealt with in the seventeenth century in the same manner, as a rule, as they were in the eighteenth and nineteenth, their owners being allowed to inflict such punishment as appeared to them to be advisable. An exception seems to have been made in the case of hog-stealing. Upon the commission of the first offence of this kind, the slave was soundly whipped, and for the second, his ears were nailed to the pillory and afterwards

[1] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 126, Va. State Library. See also *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 287, Va. State Library.

severed from his head with a knife. This punishment was severe enough to accomplish the purpose for which it was intended, but like a great majority of the drastic measures passed with reference to the slaves, it was doubtless very much modified when it came to be enforced, if it was not ignored altogether. No traveller in Virginia in the seventeenth century has remarked upon the number of earless negroes in the Colony, and in that age, as in more recent times, it must have been difficult for individuals of this race to have resisted the temptation of running down the many fine young hogs that crossed their path in the forest in whichever direction they might have been proceeding. It is quite unlikely that the master would have been willing to have had a valuable slave lowered in value in case he desired to sell him, as was always possible, by reporting him to the authorities to be subjected to disfigurement for life. Self-interest was alive here even if sentiment was dormant. A negro with two ears was worth more in the market than a dozen hogs, and to remove one of his ears was to proclaim to every planter in the Colony that he was a felon whom it would have been unwise to purchase.[1]

The law required that the same barbarous punishment should be imposed when the slave was convicted of robbing a house or store. He was first lashed by the sheriff until sixty strokes had been received, and was then placed in the pillory with his ears nailed to the posts, in which position he was compelled to remain for half an hour, at the end of which time these members were severed from his head.[2]

There are indications of the presence of free negroes in the Colony at a comparatively early date. They were

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 179.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1705, p. 140.

either the offspring of members of their own race who had been set at liberty, or they were slaves who had been emancipated by their masters. In many cases, the bestowal upon them of all the rights of freedom had been without restriction. This was the course pursued by Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., with reference to his slave Kate, to whom liberty had been promised by his wife before her death.[1] In other cases, the gift was made subject to certain conditions, either temporary or permanent in their nature. John Farrar, of Henrico, in emancipating a negro who had grown to old age in his service, required that until the following Christmas he was to remain on the estate to which he was then attached, and was to take an active part in producing the crop to be planted in the course of that year.[2] Tony Bowyer, the property of Richard Bennett, was liberated by his master on condition that he should deliver annually eight hundred pounds of tobacco, and the General Court, after the death of Bennett, required Tony to furnish ample security for the payment of this amount.[3] Under the will of Mrs. Beazley, which was admitted to probate about the middle of the century, one of her slaves was devised to a kinsman for a term of eight years, and, at its expiration, he was to be set free, and the customary allowance under the circumstances, of three barrels of Indian corn and a suit of clothes, was to be made to him. The negro was assigned by his mistress to a Mrs. Lucas, who, after compelling him to remain in her employment three years longer than the will of Mrs. Beazley prescribed, at the end of that time forced him to sign a paper binding him to continue with her during the course of twenty years.

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 154, Va. State Library.
[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 299, Va. State Library.
[3] *Records of the General Court*, p. 243.

These facts were embodied in a petition which he entered in court for the purpose of constraining Mrs. Lucas to remunerate him for the three years beyond his legal term which she had forced him to serve.[1]

Nicholas Martian, of York, directed in his will that when the first crop of tobacco had been gathered after the payment of the debts which he left at his decease, his two negroes, Philip and Nicholas, should be set free, and that one cow, three barrels of Indian corn, clothes, and nails should be given to each of them. Each one was also to be permitted during his life to have a certain area of land in which to plant.[2]

Thomas Whitehead, of York, by will emancipated his slave, John, and bequeathed to him a great variety of clothing, and also two cows, ordering that he should be allowed the use of as much ground as he could cultivate, and the possession of a house. So great was his confidence in the discretion and integrity of this negro, that he appointed him the guardian of Mary Rogers, a ward of Whitehead's, and overseer of her property, offices which the court refused to suffer him to fill.[3]

Daniel Parke showed equal generosity to a favorite slave. He instructed his executors to pay to this negro, whom he set free by his will, fifteen bushels of shelled Indian corn, and fifty pounds of dried beef, annually, as long as the man should live. In addition, he was to receive each year from Parke's estate, a kersey coat, a pair of breeches, a hat, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of yarn stockings, two shirts, a pair of drawers, and an axe and hoe. His levies were also to be paid.[4]

[1] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 9. See also *Records of the General Court*, p. 218.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1633–1694, p. 109, Va. State Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1657–1662, pp. 211, 217.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1687–1691, pp. 278, 279.

Robert Griggs of Lancaster granted by will freedom to all of his slaves, for whose welfare he provided with great liberality. To a mulatto woman owned by him, he bequeathed a heifer and three barrels of Indian corn, and he commanded his executor to allot her a house and a certain area of ground as long as she continued to live with her husband; and she was also to be supplied with one cotton suit every year. Two of his young negroes were to serve for a period of thirty-eight years, and then to be emancipated. All the children in his possession were to remain slaves until they reached their forty-fifth year. Those of his negroes who did not come within these provisions were not to be set free until thirty-nine years had passed since their arrival in the country.[1]

John Carter of Lancaster, one of the largest slaveholders in the Colony, by his will gave freedom to two of his negroes who were married to each other. To each he devised a cow and a calf and three barrels of Indian corn, and instructed his heirs to allow them the use of a convenient house, firewood, timber, and as much land as they could cultivate. He also enjoined that the two young daughters of this couple should receive their liberty when they reached their eighteenth year, and as a provision for them, he gave each one a yearling heifer with its increase, which was to be permitted to run with the cattle of his wife after his death.[2]

A more remarkable instance of generosity on the part of the Virginian slaveholder of the seventeenth century is to be found among the records of Lower Norfolk County. It is not improbable that the beneficiaries in this case were the illegitimate children of the testator. The will of John Nicholls, filed in 1697, disclosed the fact

[1] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1674–1687, p. 91.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1690–1709, p. 3.

that he had emancipated a mulatto boy and girl belonging to him, children of one of his female slaves. The boy at the time of Nicholls' death was serving an apprenticeship to a blacksmith in Nansemond County. To the girl, he devised two hundred acres of land in fee simple, and to the boy three hundred and ten acres. To the latter, he also bequeathed a pair of millstones, and all the ironwork necessary for the equipment of a water-mill. He gave both children the cattle which at the time of his death would be running on the lands he had left to them by will, and they were to share alike in the division. To the girl, he bequeathed a feather-bed and bolster, a rug and two blankets, four ewes and one ram, a sow and pig, one woollen and one linen wheel, a pair of wool, a pair of tow, and a pair of cotton cards. To the boy, he bequeathed a feather-bed and bolster, two blankets and a rug, four ewes and a ram, a sow and pig, and a musket. In case either died before he or she came of age, the survivor was to be the heir of the deceased.[1]

The records of the seventeenth century disclose the fact that numerous suits were entered by slaves for the recovery of their freedom, and that the courts showed them the amplest justice. In an action brought in 1695 in Elizabeth City County by a negro against the executors of Colonel John Lear, in which it was alleged that he was entitled to his liberty, the executors failed to make their appearance. An order was adopted that unless Lewis Burwell and Thomas Goddin, who were the representatives of Colonel Lear, attended the next court, the plaintiff should be set free.[2] A similar order was entered in York in the case of Henry Tyler, the administrator of Mr. Martin

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 96.

[2] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 107, Va. State Library.

Gardner, who had emancipated a slave bearing the name of Napho.[1]

In the interval between 1635 and 1700, there were probably a number of persons of African blood in the Colony, who had raised themselves to a condition of moderate importance in the community. There were certainly some who were able to write.[2] It is known that patents to land were obtained by a few. Thus in 1654, one hundred acres lying on Pongoteague River in Northampton County were granted to Richard Johnson, a negro, upon the basis of head rights which were represented by two white men. In the description of this tract, it is stated to have been contiguous to estates owned by John Johnson and Anthony Johnson, both of the African race.[3] Two years later, Benjamin Dole, a member of the same race, received a patent to three hundred acres in Surry County, which was due him for the transportation of six persons.[4] The transfer to negroes of land purchased by them from private grantors was not uncommon; thus in 1668, Robert Jones, a tailor residing in York, sold to John Harris, an African freeman, fifty

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 328, Va. State Library.

[2] See *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1679–1694, p. 14. See also *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1689–1698, p. 250.

[3] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. III, p. 294. Richard Johnson was a carpenter (see *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1663–1666, p. 54) and a mulatto (*Ibid.*, original vol. 1682–1697, p. 160). We find in the *Records of Northampton County* entry of a suit by Anthony Johnson for the purpose of recovering his negro servant, who had been appropriated by Robert Parker. See original vol. 1651–1654, p. 226. There seems to have been some dispute as to the land owned by John Johnson, as the following entry in the *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1651–1654, p. 200, shows: "Whereas John Johnson, Negro, hath this day made his complaint in Court that John Johnson, Sr., detaineth a patent to 450 acres, which John Johnson, Jr., claims, John Johnson, Sr., is ordered to appear in Court."

[4] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1655–1664, p. 71.

acres which he possessed in New Kent.[1] The estates of negroes were sometimes sufficiently large to require the appointment by the court of administrators to settle up their affairs.[2]

The pride of the Virginians was shown in the statute which provided that no black freeman should be allowed to secure by indenture the service of white persons to continue for the usual term of years,[3] but he was not forbidden to acquire an interest of that nature in an Indian or an individual of his own race. There seems, however, to be little room for doubt that the free negroes who had obtained an ownership in real estate were allowed to exercise the suffrage in the times when it was based upon a property qualification. When the privilege was thrown open to the freemen of the Colony without restriction, this right was not only enjoyed by the African freeholders, but it would be inferred that there was no discrimination in this respect against any negro who could show that he was not a slave, whether in possession of property or not. All freemen are included in the grant of the right of suffrage under the statutes passed in March, 1655, and in March, 1657, as well as in 1676, when the people had triumphed under Bacon.[4] In no instance is the black freeman excepted from the operation of these statutes by name. In the law of 1699, readopting the

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 327, Va. State Library. Leases for 99 years to negroes were not uncommon; see a lease of 200 acres for this period to Philip Morgan, a negro, by John Parker of Accomac, original vol. 1676–1690, p. 185.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 495. A judgment for 486 pounds of tobacco against the estate of Edward Jessop, a mulatto, is recorded in Northampton County, original vol. 1683–1689, p. 258. An instance of a negro surety is found in the records of the same county, original vol. 1689-1698, p. 58.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 280.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 403, 475; vol. II, p. 356.

property qualification, women sole or covenant, males under the age of twenty-one years, and Popish recusants were denied the voting privilege, but no reference by way of exception is made to negro freeholders.[1] That the free negro, mulatto, or Indian had been given the right of suffrage previous to 1723 is to be inferred from the provision adopted in that session that none of these persons should thereafter be allowed to enjoy it.[2] It would seem to follow logically from the possession of this right by the negro freeman or freeholder, that he was permitted to perform many of the duties expected of white citizens in that age. He was certainly subject to its burdens, such, for instance, as the payment of county levies.[3] In one case, a negro was appointed by the justices of Lancaster a beadle, but it was specially provided that his duties should be restricted to inflicting punishment by stripes on those whom the court should condemn to the lash.[4]

There is no evidence to show that the free negroes of the seventeenth century exhibited as a mass any degree of thrift. It appears from the county records that the largest proportion of them were employed under the provisions of indentures similar to those by which the white servants were bound. Their general lack of prosperity was clearly revealed in the fact that one of the strongest reasons which led to the passage of the famous law of 1699, requiring the exportation of every African freeman within six months after he was emancipated, was that the manumitted slaves became in their old age a charge upon

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 172.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 133, 134.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 2, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1652–1657, p. 213.

the country, as they were lacking in the means to support themselves.[1] It is also significant to note that the additional reason was advanced that the free negroes were receivers of goods stolen either by the slaves or the white servants from their masters.[2] Under the provisions of this measure, which was really designed to discourage emancipation, the planter who liberated a negro and failed to send him out of the Colony was liable to a levy on his property to the extent of ten pounds sterling, to be employed in paying the expenses incurred in the freedman's transportation. If a surplus remained after these expenses had been met, it was to be used by the church wardens of the parish in which his former owner resided, for the benefit of the poor. If the slave had been manumitted by will, the heirs of the testator were exposed to the same penalty for a failure to comply with the requirements of the statute.[3]

We have already given a brief account of the Indian as a servant. He also played a part of considerable importance in the Colony as a slave. He did not, however, appear in this character until 1676, when it was decided by the Assembly, which at that time was under the control of Bacon, to make legal the enslavement of all the aborigines captured in war, under the definition of service for life. In 1661, it had been expressly declared that no Indian who had fallen into the hands of the whites should be disposed of absolutely and permanently, and this provision, in conformity with all of the same kind previously

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 87.

[2] See, in illustration of this fact, an instance preserved in the *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1689–1698, p. 463.

[3] In 1698, Richard Trotter of York County, by the terms of his will, emancipated two of his slaves, to whom he bequeathed fifteen pounds sterling apiece, to meet the expense of their removal from the Colony. Vol. 1694–1702, pp. 194, 195, Va. State Library.

established, had its origin in a desire to promote as far as possible peaceful relations with the surrounding tribes.[1] As late as 1670, it was proclaimed that the youthful members of these tribes, seized during the progress of war, should not be held beyond their thirtieth year.[2] It remained for Bacon to adopt the rule that slavery for life should be the lot of every Indian who should come into the hands of the whites during the period of hostilities, and the Government, after the insurrection was over, followed the policy which he had inaugurated.[3] The scope of the principle was extended in 1682, by the passage of a law permitting the holding in bondage of all Indians who had been captured by tribes at peace with the Colony and sold to the planters, or who had been brought into the country from a distance by persons engaged in trade with the people of Virginia. The regulations established for the management of such slaves were practically the same as those in operation for the control of the African. They were brought within the scope of every measure adopted for the protection of the negro slaves, and morally as well as materially stood precisely upon the same footing in the view of the law. They were, however, valued at somewhat lower rates.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 143.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 283. "If men or women, twelve years and no longer."

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 440.

CHAPTER XII

DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF THE PLANTER

To inquire into the origin of the planters of Virginia in the seventeenth century would be to enter into a domain which is more distinctly a part of social than economic history. Such an inquiry was justified in the case of servants because they bore the same practical relation to the community as the ordinary beast of burden, only tempered by their human intelligence, which led to their receiving more conscientious treatment from their masters. Nevertheless, even from an economic point of view, it is important to know that the great body of men who sued out patents to public lands in Virginia were sprung from the portion of the English commonwealth that was removed from the highest as well as from the lowest ranks in the community, and which, while in many instances sharing the blood of the noblest, yet as a rule belonged to the classes engaged in the different professions and trades, in short, to the workers in all of the principal branches of English activity. With those powerful traditions animating them, the traditions of race and nationality, blending with the traditions of special pursuits, they had also that enterprising spirit which prompted them to abandon home and country to make a lodgment in the West. It is incorrect to infer that their position in their native land was lacking in advantages because they showed a willingness to emigrate. Of all the mod-

ern races, the English have exhibited the most marked disposition to establish colonies. Until the settlement of Virginia, this disposition had had a latent existence only. That region furnished it the earliest opportunity for its display. The colony at Jamestown was the first swarm which, issuing from the central hive in England, established a permanent home abroad. Since the 13th of May, 1607, how many swarms have gone forth from the same hive, how vast a portion of the surface of the earth has now been populated by the same race! The same practical aspirations which in the present century have led to the formation of so many English commonwealths in the Australasian seas, influenced men of the same manly and self-reliant stock to remove to Virginia. A natural desire for an improved condition has been one of the strongest impulses for that migration to the Western World which began in the sixteenth century. This desire was just as pronounced in the founders of the most powerful families of the Colony in the seventeenth century, men of honorable origin in England, as it was in the humblest person who secured his passage thither by selling his labor for a certain term to begin after his arrival. In the hearts of both, there lingered that deep love of their native land which moved them to speak of it as "home" until their latest hour, and which was transmitted to their descendants, although the latter perhaps had never walked an English street or gazed upon an English landscape.[1] This profound affection for the mother country, a trait which is distinctive of the offshoots of all the great races, had a vast influence upon

[1] The references to England as "home" are very numerous in the county records. See, for instance, *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, f. p. 3, where John Carter speaks of his crop "going home," that is, to England.

the whole system of affairs in Virginia. It shaped the tone of its social institutions, moulded its political spirit, and guided its religious thought, and but for the peculiar conditions attending the culture of tobacco, would have governed its agricultural development also. There was one department of the economic life of the people in which it could exhibit itself without any obstruction in the local surroundings; this was the general appointments of the household.

In the previous chapters, I have sought to give some account of the different properties which the planter held, the slaves, the servants, the live stock, the estate in land. I have now come to the description of his house, his furniture, his utensils, his food, his drink, his dress, his means of getting from place to place, and the kindred economies of his daily existence. The only inference to be drawn from the copious details furnished by the recorded inventories of the seventeenth century, is that the members of the planting class, ranging from the highest to the lowest rank, were in the possession, in proportion to their resources, of all those articles which in that age were considered to be necessary to domestic comfort and convenience. Virginian homes in this period did not differ in their interior arrangement from those English homes that were owned by men of the same fortune as the householders of the Colony. In one important respect only the Virginian residence fell short of the English. This was in its construction. With a few exceptions, the contents of the house were imported, and were therefore equal in quality to the articles of the same character in common use in the mother country. The bedsteads, couches, chests, and looking-glasses of the chamber; the tables, chairs, plates, knives, and cups of the hall; the spits, ladles, chafing-dishes, kettles, and

pots of the kitchen; the churns, cheese-presses, and pails of the dairy, had been purchased in the same shops in which the English householder had bought his supplies of a similar nature. The Virginian residence, however, was in its framework the product of local skill and labor. The plank, the mortar, the brick, and the stone entering into its composition had been obtained in the Colony, and had been put together there. The tastes of the owner, even if he desired to erect a dwelling-house which in general appearance should resemble some one of those belonging to the rural gentry of England, must have remained ungratified on account of the great costliness of securing both the materials and the mechanical skill which were required. There had not been sufficient accumulation of wealth in Virginia in the seventeenth century to permit of large expenditure in building houses. The outlay attending the importation from the mother country of highly trained workmen and of special materials, would have imposed a burden difficult for even the most affluent members of the planting class to bear.[1]

So far as information is to be derived from records, there was no residence in the Colony in the seventeenth century which could make any pretensions to beauty of design. The homes even of the most prominent planters were simple and plain. Brick seems to have entered only to a limited extent into the construction of the dwellings. It would appear that all bricks used in Virginia in this century were manufactured there. As this material

[1] So far as I have been able to discover, the first building materials of any kind brought into Virginia from England in the course of the seventeenth century were imported in 1607 for the use of George Percy. In memoranda of the Ninth Earl of Northumberland, the following entry is found: "To Mr. Melshewe for many necessaries, which he delivered to Mr. Percy toward building of a house in Virginia, 14*s*." See Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 178.

was in general use in England, it is not surprising to discover that there were bricklayers, who were also doubtless brickmakers, in the band of settlers who arrived in 1607. Among the artisans whom the Company sought to obtain in 1609, with a view to their transportation to Jamestown, there were four brickmakers, who quite probably were also expected to serve as bricklayers.[1] Brickmakers and bricklayers were advertised for on two occasions in 1610.[2] It cannot be stated with certainty whether these men were dispatched to the Colony. No brickmakers are included by name in the list of persons sent over with the Second and Third Supplies. Dale reached Virginia in 1611, and was probably accompanied by workingmen of this class, as he mentions incidentally in his letter to the Council, written in the year of his arrival, that one of the most important tasks which the colonists had to perform was to manufacture bricks.[3] Kilns were certainly erected at Henrico when that place was selected as the site of the new town which he had determined to build.[4] The first story of all the houses there, was constructed of brick made on the spot by men who had been brought thither in company with spadesmen, carpenters, wood-choppers, and sawyers, for this special purpose. It was the bricks manufactured here which Whitaker, in his *Good Newes from Virginia*, had in mind when he related that the colonists had, in digging for bricks, come upon a red clay possessing the most excellent qualities for this purpose.[5] At this time,

[1] A True and Sincere Declaration, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 353. "I did visit . . . ould Short, the bricklayer," President Wingfield records in his *Discourse*, 1607. See *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. xc.

[2] Broadside, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 356. Broadside, *Ibid.*, p. 439.

[3] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 492.

[4] New Life of Virginia, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I.

[5] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 584. "If we digge any depth (as wee have done for our bricks) wee finde it to be redde clay."

there were in the other settlements of Virginia no houses built of this material even in part. The various structures at Jamestown and the cabins and cottages at Point Comfort were made of wood.

In 1617, brickmakers were again included in the list of artisans whom it was sought to secure by publication of broadsides. The college lands had now been laid off and the college hall was to be erected. Brickmakers were to be attached permanently to these lands.[1] It is to be inferred that a certain number were brought over to the Colony at the expense of the Company under the formal terms of indentures, for the Governor and Council in Virginia were directed some time later to hold the bricklayers who had bound themselves by contract to build the college strictly to the obligations of their agreement, in order that when the time for the beginning of the construction of the house was determined upon, there would be ready at hand the requisite quantity of bricks.[2] The importation of these brickmakers and the strictness with which they were held to their covenants indicate how few were the members of this class of workmen in the Colony. This is confirmed by the request which William Capps made of the Company. In a letter addressed to the Deputy Treasurer in 1623, he declared his willingness to undertake the erection of an inn at Elizabeth City and another at Jamestown, provided that he was furnished with ten or twelve artisans, including brickmakers, for the work.[3] It is possible that Capps had reason to expect that this number of artisans would be detached from the public lands for the purpose

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 12.

[2] Letter of Company to Governor and Council in Virginia, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 330.

[3] *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., p. 39.

of carrying his proposition into practical effect, but it seems rather probable that he anticipated that the workmen whom he asked for would be imported in a body from England. That bricks, however, were numerous in the Colony at this time, appears from the fact that Captain Nuce cased the sides of his well with this material. It is also stated that when the Indians on the day of the massacre, in 1622, attacked the home of Ralph Hamor, they were driven off with brick-bats.[1] A still more striking proof of this fact is that bricks now formed one of the principal articles exported from Virginia to the Bermudas, and there exchanged, along with aquavitæ, oil, and sack, for the fruits and plants, ducks, turkeys, and limestone of that fertile island.[2] There is nothing, however, to show that when the letters patent of the Company were revoked in 1624, nearly a full generation after the settlement of the country, there was a single house in the Colony constructed entirely of brick, although brickmen were sufficiently numerous to be made subject to a fixed charge for their labor, that is to say, forty pounds of tobacco for laying one thousand bricks.

Thirteen years after the dissolution of the Company, Governor Wyatt was instructed to require every landowner whose plantation was an hundred acres in extent to erect a dwelling-house of brick, to be twenty-four feet in length and sixteen feet in breadth, with a cellar attached. In the cases in which the area of the grant exceeded five hundred acres, the size of the dwelling-house was to be enlarged in proportion. This order was a fair sample of many received from the authorities in England who had charge of the affairs of the Colony, showing either the most complete ignorance of the conditions surrounding the Virginians, or indifference to the obstacles standing

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 576. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 682.

in the way of the enforcement of their commands. To have compelled every planter to substitute brick for wood in the construction of his residence would have been an imposition of the most tyrannical nature. The instruction was a nullity because it could not be put into operation. The inconvenience as well as the expense of obtaining the brick for several thousand widely separated estates would have been intolerable even if it had been practicable. Such an order at least indicates that brick was not very much used in the construction of plantation residences.[1] Secretary Kemp, writing to Secretary Windebank at this time, asserted that the people of Virginia were now showing a disposition to erect good houses, but this statement probably had its origin in his desire to make the impression on the English Government that the order to build towns, which had only recently been received, had had a marked influence in leading the planters at large to improve the architectural character of their homes.[2] It is possible that Secretary Kemp had in mind Jamestown, where some activity in building in compliance with the Act of Assembly to promote the growth of that corporation was now displayed. In this year, the Secretary had erected a brick residence there, which was described as being the most substantial private dwelling-house in the Colony.[3] It was perhaps the first structure entirely of

[1] Instructions to Wyatt, 1638–39, *British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book*, vol. 79, pp. 219, 236; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 46, Va. State Library. This order was repeated in the instructions to Berkeley, 1641. See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 284.

[2] Richard Kemp to Secretary Windebank, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 96; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 7, Va. State Library.

[3] Letter of Governor and Council in Virginia, Jan. 18, 1639, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *McDonald Papers*, vol. II, p. 248, Va. State Library.

brick ever built in Virginia. No account of its exterior shape or the division of its apartments has survived; it was doubtless devoid of architectural pretensions, a square unadorned residence which was not even imposing in size. A number of brick houses were now erected at Jamestown, and if the facilities for securing brick existing there had been extended to the planters at large, it would probably have promoted the use of this material in the construction of their homes. It is not surprising to find that when Berkeley built a residence at Green Spring, distant about two miles from Jamestown, he employed brick in its construction. He was doubtless anxious to set an example which might be followed by the landowners in general. This house had the wide hall characteristic of all the larger dwellings in Virginia at this time, and only six rooms, showing that it was a structure of moderate proportions. The wideness of the hall was for the purpose of obtaining the fullest ventilation, the climate of this part of the Colony in the warm season being oppressive and unwholesome.[1]

It is quite certain that brick was used very generally in the construction of chimneys before the middle of the century. Being made on the ground or brought by water from the nearest kiln, the small quantity which each planter required did not put him to serious expense in the transportation. The absence of stone in all parts of the Peninsula was one of the most remarkable features of the country. There were no local quarries from which material for chimneys could be obtained. It is not likely that wooden cross-pieces daubed with mud would have afforded

[1] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 204. There were doubtless out-buildings. Berkeley also owned three brick houses in Jamestown, as we learn from a deed bearing date March, 1654–55. He sold one of these houses afterwards to Richard Bennett. See Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 407.

permanent satisfaction. The author of the *New Description of Virginia*, which was perhaps written about forty years after the foundation of Jamestown, asserts that the people were in possession of a store of brick at that time, and that both houses and chimneys were constructed of this material.[1] The correctness of this statement is proved at least by one instance, evidence of which has survived in the records of Surry County; it is there related that about 1652, Mr. Thomas Warren owned a residence of brick sixty feet in length.[2] Under the terms of the Cohabitation Act of 1662, it was provided that thirty brick houses should be erected at Jamestown, the brickmakers and bricklayers employed in this work to be obtained from different parts of the Colony. No difficulty in securing the number required seems to have been anticipated.[3] From the middle to the end of the century, the number of brickmakers steadily increased. Some were men of considerable property. Thus in 1682, John Robert of Lower Norfolk bought of George Newton two hundred acres of land, for which he gave sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. In the following year, he appointed Joseph Knott his attorney to collect the sums due him in different counties.[4] John Kingston of York was also a brickmaker in possession of a good estate; among those

[1] New Description of Virginia, p. 7, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. Bullock, writing about this time, says: "The soil (of Virginia) is a rich black mould for two feet deep, and under it a loam of which they make a fine brick," p. 3. He advised the planters to build their houses of this material. Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 61.

[2] *Records of Surry County*, vol. 1671–1684, p. 254, Va. State Library. One of the rooms in the house of Captain Robert Spencer of the same county was known as the "Brick Room." *Ibid.*, vol. 1671–1684, p. 451, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 172.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. pp. 137, 150.

indebted to him for work which he had done in the course of his trade was Robert Booth, whose inventory showed an account in Kingston's favor of seven pounds sterling.[1] Edwin Malin, also of York, was the owner of a plantation, having on one occasion purchased fifty acres.[2] Thomas Meders of Lancaster held landed property in White Chapel parish in that county.[3] Richard Burk of Rappahannock and Robert Wiggins and Thomas Wade of Northampton were also men of considerable means.[4] John Franklin of Accomac in 1681 bought a single tract that covered five hundred and fifty acres.[5]

Many of the brickmakers were indented servants who had been imported by the planters. Such was William Eale of Elizabeth River, who for a certain term belonged to John Townes, by whom he was occasionally hired out.[6] Eale had come from Barbadoes. John Talbott had been brought in by Richard Willis of Middlesex.[7] Among the

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, pp. 180, 366, Va. State Library. Kingston, it seems, had been imported under articles of indenture by John Forrest. See *Ibid.*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 170.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 423, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1687–1700, p. 12.

[4] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 164, Va. State Library; *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1674–1679, p. 164; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1689–1698, p. 391.

[5] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1676–1690, p. 275.

[6] "Agreed between Captain Francis Yeardley of Lynhaven and John Townes of Elizabeth River that William Eale, bricklayer and servant to Mr. Townes, shall well and substantially plaster, white lime . . . over ye . . . ye yellow room, kitchen and ye chamber over ye kitchen, and likewise repair all ye rest of ye rooms and chambers in ye house at Lynhaven; likewise repair all ye brick work about the dwelling house at Kecaughtan." *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 186.

[7] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders Dec. 5, 1692. Among those who fled to New England after the suppression of Bacon's insurrection was William Mason, bricklayer. Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 376, note.

planters owning brickkilns was William Sargent of Rappahannock.[1] Many were in possession of large quantities of brick manufactured either by their own servants or by transient laborers. The inventory of the Croshaw estate, situated in York, which was entered in court in 1668, included one thousand.[2] A large lot of the same material formed a part of the estate of William Heslett of Lower Norfolk.[3] Mr. Robert Booth of York left at his death twenty-three thousand bricks, valued at one hundred and eighty-four shillings,[4] a decline of nearly fifty per cent in comparison with the price in 1668, when they sold for fifteen shillings. It is improbable that when bricks were rated at eight shillings a thousand in Virginia, planters would have been led to import them from England, where, between 1650 and 1700, they could not be purchased for less than eighteen shillings and eight and one-quarter pence.[5] The difference in price was rendered still greater by the charges for transportation across the ocean.

In the closing years of the century, brick was so common that it was used in supporting the marble slabs of tombs. In his will, Francis Page of York provided for the erection of a brick structure over his grave of equal height with the tombs, also of brick, covering the remains of his father and mother.[6] No information has

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 10, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 401, Va. State Library. As early as 1646, a lot of bricks in possession of Henry Brooke were attached by Nicholas Brooke. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 171, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 121.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 179, Va. State Library.

[5] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 532.

[6] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 169, Va. State Library.

survived as to the material entering into his residence. It is learned from his will that several buildings on his plantation, including his malt-house and a barn, were constructed of brick;[1] and the probability is that the house in which he lived was also made of that material. There was a brick house standing on the Juxon plantation in York.[2] William Fitzhugh, who was very careful in his management, was content to confine the brickwork of his buildings to the chimneys. In a letter bearing the date of 1686, he mentions that all the dwellings on his plantation were furnished with chimneys of brick, and there is little reason to doubt that the same influences governing him, shaped the action in this respect of other planters of equal prominence.[3]

Defective workmanship in the construction of chimneys of brick grew to be a frequent cause of dispute. In 1674, Captain Philip Lightfoot entered suit against Mr. Ralph Deane on the ground that he had sustained serious injury from the negligent manner in which the latter had performed his contract in building the brick chimneys which he had agreed to erect.[4] The use of the same material in the construction of the whole dwelling-house had not become common among the planters of Virginia as late as the administration of Spotswood, the erection of brick residences by several prominent landowners in the early part of the eighteenth century having been noted by Beverley as a fact of importance, perhaps because exceptional.[5] He states that these houses had numerous rooms on a floor, indicating that they were larger in size than the

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 170, Va. State Library.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1684–1687, pp. 32, 33.
[3] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 22, 1686.
[4] *Records of the General Court*, p. 176.
[5] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 235.

brick dwellings in the previous century, which had been built by Kemp and Berkeley at Jamestown.

In addition to the brick residences in Virginia in the seventeenth century, there were some public buildings constructed of this material. By contract with the Colonial Government, Theophilus Hone, Mathew Page, and William Drummond agreed to raise a fort at Jamestown, to have a frontage of brick extending at least one hundred and fifty feet.[1] After some delay, this fort was built. When Clayton visited the Colony, he found that the structure had been erected in the shape of a half-moon.[2] In the latter part of the century, there was a large house of public entertainment in New Kent known as the Brick House.[3] Some of the county court-houses besides the one at Jamestown were constructed of this material; the court-house in Gloucester was built of brick,[4] and so was that in Middlesex.[5]

[1] *Records of General Court*, p. 149.

[2] Clayton's *Virginia*, pp. 23, 24, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[3] James Elcock, in enumerating his expenses in recovering two runaway servants, includes the cost of a pottle of beer which he had bought at the Brick House. *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 501, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders Feb. 2, 1684. It is incidentally mentioned in this reference that the Gloucester court-house building was of brick, the order providing for the erection of the Middlesex court-house requiring that it should be at least of "equal goodness and dimensions as ye brick court-house lately built in Gloucester county."

[5] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders Nov. 14, 1692. The order for building of brick was dated Feb. 2, 1684. I have not been able to find any record showing that the original order requiring this court-house to be of this material was carried out. The flooring alone of the court-house in York County seems to have been of brick. In this brief enumeration of public buildings in the Colony constructed of brick, I have designedly omitted all reference to the churches that were made of this material, some of which, like the one standing in Middle Plantation parish, that cost £800, had caused a considerable

It was entirely natural that the dwellings of the planters of Virginia in the seventeenth century should, in general, have been made of wood. The difficulty of obtaining bricks in the necessary quantities unless the planter had a kiln of his own, which was only possible in the case of wealthy landowners, has already been pointed out. The finest timber, on the other hand, was extremely abundant; oak, elm, ash, chestnut, pine, cypress, cedar, hickory, all were to be found in the native forests. The site of every home was overshadowed by trees of extraordinary height and girth, and even in the rudest period, axes, frows, and saws were near at hand to convert the trunks of these trees into rough planks and boards. In this profusion of timber, Virginia differed essentially from the mother country. Stone, brick, and slate were the principal materials employed in building in England, because the area in forests was so small. At the end of the seventeenth century, there were only three million acres in woods and coppices in England,[1] and in the early decades their extent was not much greater, a steady drain upon these resources being kept up in supplying fuel for iron and glass manufacture. The use of wood in English houses, owing to its dearness, seems to have been practically confined to laths, beams, floors, stairways, and wainscoting. Every consideration of cheapness and convenience compelled the planter in Virginia to construct every part of his house, except the chimney, of wood, an exception being only made in the case of the chimney, because this part of the building would not endure permanently if constructed

outlay. [*Colonial Entry Book*, No. 82, pp. 172, 174; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1683*, p. 31, Va. State Library.] Some description of these brick churches can with more propriety be given in an account of the state of the Church in Virginia in the seventeenth century.

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 529.

only of mud and sticks. The unsightliness of such materials was doubtless another element of objection.

There are many indications that the planters who owned large estates were in possession of a great abundance of plank. John Smyth of York left fifteen hundred feet,[1] and John Andrews of Accomac eighteen hundred.[2] The estate of Henry Jenkins of Elizabeth City was indebted to Pascho Curle to the extent of four thousand and twenty-nine feet.[3] In some cases, it was the consideration in the sale of land.[4] An attachment against it in the hands of a debtor was a common process. Dressed timber was known by its width in inches. The feather-edged plank was in general use in building, and formed a valuable part of the estates of planters.[5] On one occasion, one hundred and thirty feet of dressed timber were sold in York for ten shillings,[6] and on another, two hundred feet were appraised at twelve shillings. In Elizabeth City County, several thousand feet were disposed of at the rate of three pounds sterling a thousand, this being the average price in this part of the Colony towards the end of the century.[7]

During a long period, the colonist could only procure nails at a considerable expense because they shared the costliness of all articles manufactured of iron. So valuable were they, indeed, that the smaller landowners, in deserting their homes with a view to making a settlement elsewhere on more fertile soil, were in the habit of burn-

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 419, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1666–1670, p. 23.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 174, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 385, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 66, Va. State Library.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 268.

[7] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 181, Va. State Library.

ing their cabins when abandoned, in order to secure the nails by which the planks were held together, and so general did this habit become, that in 1644–45 it was provided by law, as a means of destroying the motive for setting the houses on fire, that each planter, when he gave up his dwelling, should be allowed, at public expense, as many nails as two impartial men should calculate to be in the frame of the deserted residence.[1] All these articles in use had been imported. Large quantities frequently formed a part of the estate of the landowner. Thus the inventory of the personalty of Francis Mathews, in 1675, showed him to have been in possession of seven thousand eight-penny, nine thousand six-penny, five thousand four-penny, and two thousand ten-penny nails.[2] John Carter of Lancaster left, as a part of his estate, over seven thousand eight-penny, twelve thousand two hundred and thirty-three ten-penny, and nearly five thousand twenty-penny nails.[3] Fitzhugh, in ordering nails from his merchant in London, would give directions that several thousand of different kinds should be sent to him at one time.[4]

It is quite probable that for a number of years after the foundation of Jamestown, neither plank nor nails entered into the construction of a majority of the houses in which the colonists lived. Undressed logs were doubtless the material principally in use. George Sandys, in a letter to a member of the Council in 1623, expressed the opinion that the only advantage which resulted from the massacre in the previous year was that it had compelled the planters to draw into narrower limits and to live more closely together, the continuation of which would inevitably lead

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 291.
[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1671-1694, p. 130, Va. State Library.
[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 32.
[4] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, May 11, 1697.

them to build framed dwellings.[1] Whitaker had already set the example.[2] Sandys probably anticipated that a concentration of the population would diminish the expense of securing plank, not only by promoting the establishment of saw-mills, but also by reducing the expenses of transportation. As it was, the plantations soon again became too widely dispersed to justify the erection in convenient numbers of mills of this character, and it grew to be almost as expensive to procure finished plank as it was to obtain bricks. Governor Butler, who visited Jamestown and its vicinity not long after the massacre, declared in his pamphlet *Virginia Unmasked*, that the houses of the people were the "worst in the world," and that the most wretched cottages in England were equal, if not superior, in appearance and comfort, to the finest dwellings in the Colony.[3] No doubt this statement was substantially correct, although it was made in a sinister spirit. The houses were mean in the beginning, and in the damp climate of Virginia, easily fell into decay unless carefully repaired. The Governor and Council, replying to the strictures of Butler, while they acknowledged that the dwellings which had been erected had been built for use and not for ornament, asserted that those occupied by workingmen, which the great majority of the inhabitants professed themselves to be, excelled the homes of the same class in the rest of the English dominions. The houses in which persons of quality resided had many points of advantage over the cottages and cabins of the laborers, and no criticisms of importance could be justly passed upon them in the light of the surrounding circumstances.[4]

[1] George Sandys to Samuel Wrote, Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 124.

[2] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 510.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 171.

[4] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II,

The framed house which Sandys was anxious for the planters to substitute for the log cabin was gradually introduced as the population increased. When Abraham Piersey died in 1632, he was the wealthiest resident of the Colony. In his will, he directed that his body should be interred in the garden in which his new framed house had been erected. This house was perhaps designed as his own residence.[1] William Fitzhugh, a man of large means, occupied a dwelling into the construction of which it is probable that not a brick entered, with the exception of the chimneys and possibly the foundation.[2] When Nicholas Hayward decided to establish one of his children in Virginia, he received a letter from Fitzhugh giving valuable information as to the course pursued by many of the planters in building. According to this writer, the most judicious plan to follow was to import carpenters and bricklayers from England who were bound by indenture to serve for a period of four or five years. In this length of time, they would be able to raise a substantial house without constructing the walls of brick, and also, by the performance of other tasks, to earn sufficient to meet the cost of the planks and nails and the additional materials, as well as to make good the outlay for their own food and clothing. Fitzhugh strongly advised against a large dwelling, and was doubtful even as to the wisdom of building an English framed house of the ordinary size, the charges for skilled labor being excessively dear, although there

p. 178. Some of the residences in the Colony at this time had been erected at very considerable expense. In a petition offered to the King, in 1622, by Adam Dixon, he states that he and a companion had built a house at a cost of £100. A house erected by William Julian had caused an expenditure of £30. *Abstracts of Proceedings of Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, pp. 189, 190.

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 5, T.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Jan. 30, 1686–1687.

was no serious expense in obtaining timber.[1] He stated that in constructing his residence, he was compelled to pay out three times the amount which would have been required in the case of a house of the same proportions in London, where all the materials used had to be bought. In Virginia, it was necessary to allow three times the length of time that would have been taken to complete the same work in that city. The Fitzhugh dwelling, like so many of the houses in the Colony at this and in a later age, was doubtless in a measure the result of several additions at different periods as the wants of a growing family demanded, a room being joined to this wing or to that as convenience suggested. Many of the residences illustrated in the variety of their material the evolution through which so many of the planters' mansions had passed; first the log house, then the framed, and finally the brick addition or the substitution of brick for the wood of which the central portion of the dwelling was made. It is an indication of how little attention was paid to the architectural effect of these additions that Bullock advised that the original residence should be built in such a manner that its extension in wings would not cause a defacement.[2] The simplicity of the houses in which many persons of good position lived is shown in a reference of Fitzhugh to the residence erected by a brother of Hayward; it was as devoid of architectural beauty as a barn, which it must have resembled exactly, as it is described by Fitzhugh as lacking both chimneys and partitions.[3]

[1] Culpeper, writing in 1682, dwells upon the same fact. See Instructions, 1681-1682. Culpeper's Reply to § 48, *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 147, Va. State Library.

[2] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 61. The references to the "New Room" in the inventories are very frequent.

[3] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Jan. 30, 1686-1687. Fitzhugh probably intended to say that this house was lacking in substantial chimneys. It may have been in an unfinished state.

Unpretentious as most of the houses in the Colony were in the seventeenth century, it is found that there is not infrequent use in different records of the expression the "Great House," which was so familiar among the negroes in later times, when the planters had accumulated large wealth and exhausted much of it in erecting residences of fine proportions. When James Knott, in 1632, leased a part of the public lands laid off in Elizabeth City by the Company some years before its dissolution, he obtained the privilege of holding not only the fifty acres included in the temporary grant, but also the house standing upon the tract and "commonly called the Great House."[1] It is evident from this that the expression did not have its origin with the slaves, but was probably transmitted from England. That it was in use, was no certain evidence that many large mansions were to be found in the Colony, since it was relative in its significance. There were also references to the planter's residence as the "Manor House."

The typical dwelling of Virginia in the seventeenth century — and innumerable examples of the same kind have survived to the present day — was a framed building of moderate size with a chimney at each end. The early records of the eastern counties show the manner in which these houses were erected, and the outlay their construction entailed. Reference by way of illustration may be made to a few instances which have thus been preserved. In 1679, Major Thomas Chamberlayne, one of the most prominent citizens of Henrico, entered into an agreement with James Gates, a carpenter of the same county, by the terms of which, Gates was required to prepare the frame of a house that was to be forty feet in length and twenty

[1] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 133. The residence of Mr. Sparks in Lancaster is also described in the records of that county as the "Great House." See original vol. 1690–1709, pp. 19, 20.

in width. He was to put the different parts of this frame together on the spot selected as the site of the proposed dwelling, and then cover the sides with boards and place a roof on the top. There was to be no cellar, the house being supported by sills resting on the ground. A chimney was to be constructed at either end. The upper and lower floors were to be divided respectively into two rooms by wooden partitions. The joists and posts were to be squared by a line. In consideration of the satisfactory performance by Gates of the provisions of this agreement, Chamberlayne bound himself to pay twelve hundred pounds of tobacco in cask. The house was to be finished in seven months.[1]

In 1695, Robert Sharpe contracted to pay John Hudlesy, both being citizens of Henrico, twenty-two hundred pounds of tobacco in consideration that Hudlesy would build for him a framed house, thirty feet long and twenty feet wide, having a chimney at each end. Sharpe was to furnish the boards and shingles, and Hudlesy the nails and timbers, the latter during the performance of the agreement being required to supply his own food.[2]

Robert Stevens of Middlesex bound himself to erect for Thomas Hill a house forty feet in length in consideration of the payment of nine pounds sterling.[3]

Under the terms of a contract between the executors of William Pryor and Richard Bernard of York County, the latter in leasing the Pryor estate was required, in addition to paying the taxes, to build what was described as a sufficient dwelling-house, that is to say, a house

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 88, Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1677–1699, orders Oct. 1, 1695, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, p. 53; see also *Ibid.*, original vol. 1673–1685, f. p. 17.

forty feet in length and eighteen or twenty in breadth.[1] Christopher Branch of Henrico County, a planter in comfortable circumstances, who died in the latter part of the seventeenth century, gave directions in his will that there should be erected for his son a residence twenty feet long and sixteen wide, and for his grandson a dwelling to be made up of four series of boards five feet from end to end. The house in which he himself lived was twenty feet in length and fifteen in width.[2] Richard Ward of Henrico left instructions that a dwelling twenty feet wide and thirty feet long should be built for his son. Five chimneys were to be erected.[3]

It is quite probable that the residences of the ministers represented the average dimensions of the dwelling-houses in Virginia at this period of colonial history. In 1635, there was erected in one of the parishes of the Eastern Shore a wooden parsonage, forty feet in width, eighteen feet in depth, and nine feet in the valley. A chimney was raised at each end. An apartment was attached to the main structure on either side, one being used as a study, the other as a buttery.[4]

The number of rooms in the dwelling-house of this century varied with the size of the structure; thus the residence of Governor Berkeley at Green Spring was divided into six apartments, while that of William Fitzhugh contained twelve or thirteen. The Stratton dwelling-house in Henrico had three chambers above and one below stairs, a hall, kitchen, and pantry. The kitchen was probably

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 318, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 209; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1697–1704, pp. 192, 195.

[3] Sometimes the specifications called for one inside and one outside chimney. *Records of York County*, vol. 1691–1701, p. 205, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Accomac County*, vol. 1632–1640, p. 43, Va. State Library.

detached. In the Osborne residence, the rooms on the lower floor are described as the "best," the "outward," and the "lodging;" on the upper floor, there were only two apartments, the "best room" and the "north room." The kitchen was under a different roof. The Farrar dwelling-house contained a hall, an inner and an outer chamber, and a shed. The dairy and kitchen were also referred to, but they were probably in separate buildings.[1]

In some of the houses in York County, a hall or dining-room, a chamber and a kitchen, only were to be found. These dwellings either did not rise above one story or they spread out beyond the main structure. In others, the term "parlor" is substituted in the inventories for chamber in enumerating the suite of rooms. In others still, there were the new room, the inner room, the little chamber, or the little room opposite the stairs, the hall, the chamber over the parlor, the parlor, the shed, and the kitchen. In all of these cases, the kitchen was either attached to the main building or stood entirely by itself.

The apartments in the house of Colonel Thomas Ludlow, a planter of wealth, who lived about the middle of the century, consisted of an inner room, a small middle room, a chamber, hall, buttery, kitchen, milk-house, and store. Mathew Hubbard was also the owner of very valuable property. His home contained a parlor and hall, a hall and parlor chamber, a kitchen and buttery. Edward Lockey of the same county was a merchant who had acquired a considerable estate both by his own thrift and by his marriage with a widow who had received a fortune under the will of her first husband. His dwelling-house was probably as large as that of any man in the Colony in

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, Stratton, original vol. 1697–1704, p. 137; Osborne, vol. 1688–1697, p. 351; Farrar, vol. 1682–1701, p. 9, Va. State Library.

possession of the same means; it contained only seven apartments, the chamber over the hall, the small room situated in the rear of the chamber, the room over the chamber, which was probably of very small dimensions, as a bed and couch formed its only furniture, the hall, which was situated on the ground floor, the middle room, the porch chamber, and the kitchen. There was in addition a dairy. Edmund Cobbs of York, who was the owner of six negro slaves, forty-eight head of cattle, thirty-two sheep, fifteen head of hogs, three cart and three saddle horses, resided in a house containing a hall and kitchen on the lower floor and one room above stairs.[1]

The division of rooms in the houses of Mrs. Elizabeth Digges and Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., of York, represents very probably the average number in the homes of the wealthiest members of the planting class in this county at the end of the century. The different names given to many of these apartments recall a contemporaneous custom of English housekeepers which has descended to the latest generation of Virginians. There were in the residence of Mrs. Digges, the yellow room, the red room, and the hall parlor; there was a large room opposite the yellow room, which was probably the chamber of the master and the mistress, while back of this, a small room was situated. Above the floor on which these apartments were found, there was a garret with a room attached, while below there was a cellar.[2]

The residence of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., contained the old and the new hall, an inner room over the hall, an outer room, an upper chamber, the chamber of Mrs. Bacon and a chamber above it, a kitchen, dairy, and storeroom. Colonel

[1] *Records of York County*, Ludlow, vol. 1657–1662, p. 275; Hubbard, vol. 1664–1672, p. 464; Cobbs, vol. 1690–1694, p. 333, Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 213, Va. State Library.

Bacon was one of the largest property holders in Virginia.[1] Rosegill in Middlesex, the home of Ralph Wormeley, President of the Council and Secretary of the Colony, a man whose personal estate was appraised at nearly three thousand pounds sterling, equal in value to sixty thousand dollars, contained a parlor with a chamber overhead, a chamber with a second chamber above it, an old and new nursery, the lady's chamber with a chamber overhead, an entry, two closets, and a storeroom. Apparently detached from the house, there were a kitchen and dairy, two stories in height.[2]

Robert Beverley, who died in 1687, was a planter of still more valuable estate, but his residence was of much less pretension in size and appointments. Its apartments included the chamber in which Major Beverley slept, a second chamber overhead, a porch and hall chamber, a dairy and kitchen and the overseer's room. Richard Willis of Middlesex was also a man of wealth. His house, which had received several additions from time to time, contained eight rooms and one closet, with a kitchen and dairy attached. There were six rooms, a kitchen, and two closets in the residence of Corbin Griffin of the same county.[3]

The residence of William Fauntleroy of Rappahannock, one of the principal landowners in that part of Virginia, contained a hall chamber with a second chamber overhead, a porch chamber, a hall, closet, and kitchen.[4] Thomas Willoughby, a wealthy planter of Lower Norfolk County,

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 261, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 113; see also *William and Mary Quarterly*, January, 1894, p. 170.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, Beverley inventory on file, 1687; Willis, original vol. 1698–1718, p. 68; Griffin, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 134.

[4] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 108, Va. State Library.

resided in a house which was made up of a hall and parlor, a porch chamber, two additional chambers known respectively as the green and the red, over which there were two garrets, a chamber which Mrs. Willoughby used and which had a loft above it, a kitchen, meal-room, and cellar, a dairy, quartering-room, and shed. The dwelling of Adam Thoroughgood, who died in 1686, had fewer apartments. They included three chambers, a hall and parlor, a kitchen and cellar. Apparently, it was of one story. The house of Cornelius Lloyd, whose personal estate was valued at 131,044 pounds of tobacco, contained a chamber and hall, a kitchen, with a loft and a dairy. The residence of Adam Keeling was distinguished for seven rooms, including two sheds, a kitchen, and a buttery. In the dwelling of Captain John Sibsey, there were, besides a quartering-room and dairy, a parlor hall and chamber. The home of Francis Emperor contained three rooms in addition to a shed, dairy, and kitchen. These planters were the leading citizens of Lower Norfolk County.[1]

In the house of Southey Littleton of Accomac there were a parlor chamber, a porch chamber, a hall chamber, a hall, two garrets, a little room over the kitchen, the kitchen and the dairy.[2] The residence of Argoll Yeardley of Northampton contained a hall chamber, a hall, a parlor chamber, two small chambers next to the parlor, with a dairy and kitchen, probably detached.[3]

The partitions of the plantation dwelling-house were

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, Willoughby, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 125; Thoroughgood, original vol. 1675–1686, p. 223; Lloyd, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 168; Keeling, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 163; Sibsey, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 54; Emperor, original vol. 1656–1666, p. 346.

[2] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1676–1690, p. 293.

[3] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1654–1655, f. p. 117.

in consequence thin and less enduring.[3] the walls were sealed with riven boards a lined with wainscoting. This was obser of Colonel Daniel Parke of York.[4] The r tary of State at Jamestown was ceiled w which had been planed until they were p

The roofing of the houses was made c was a square oblong piece of cypress or pi was some attempt to manufacture tile, it proved to be defective.[6] In the Coh 1662, it was provided that the roofs of t

[1] Leah and Rachel, p. 18, Force's *Historical Trac*

[2] New Description of Virginia, p. 7, Force's *Histo* See also Glover, in *Philo. Trans. Royal Soc.*, 1676 p. 635.

[3] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 3.

[4] "Whereas Mr. Robert Whitehaire, attorney of M of Mr. Robert Bourne, arrested to this court, Mr. He ing the furnishing and completing of his dwelling-hou Capt. Daniel Parke then was, and it being referred to White to declare what he was to doe thereto, and he c he was to scale the upper rooms with riven boards, t partition between the two rooms and a wainscot . . and to put banisters into the stairs, for which said v the said Bourne was to pay him *ace* [illegible]

to be erected at Jamestown should be covered with this material;[1] this constituted probably the greater quantity in Virginia during the latter part of the century, although it was said of the storm which occurred in 1684 that a large proportion of the damage which it inflicted consisted in the destruction of the tile roofs by the hail. No slate seems to have been employed, although, as the line of settlements spread, quarries of this formation were discovered. The cost of its transportation would have excluded it, even if the violent winds of Virginia had not rendered its use inadvisable. Cypress shingles were not only remarkable for the length of time during which they would last in a state of absolute exposure to every sort of weather, but they could be procured at a comparatively small expense, a consideration of supreme importance. The demand for this roofing was always steady. Among the fines imposed upon some of the persons implicated in the insurrection of Bacon was one of ten thousand shingles.[2]

The windows of the houses were doubtless in many cases merely sliding panels; in all homes of any pretension, however, glass panes were in use.[3] In 1684, Colonel Byrd transmitted an order to his London merchant to send him four hundred feet of glass with drawn lead and solder in proportion, but a part of this was probably designed for sale in the Colony.[4] Fitzhugh gave similar instructions

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 172. The order was "slate or tile."

[2] Petition of John Johnson, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1677*, p. 6, Va. State Library.

[3] Leah and Rachel, p. 18, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. "In the difference between Mr. Thomas Ballard, Jr., assignee of Col. Thomas Ballard and Jeremiah Wing, it is ordered that the said Wing doth forthwith perform and finish the glazing work he was to do, otherwise execution for forty shillings to issue against him." *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 157, Va. State Library. See also *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 1.

[4] *Letters of William Byrd*, June 21, 1684.

to his correspondent in England. Boxes of this material formed not infrequently a portion of the estate of deceased planters.[1] In the county levies, provision was made for the purchase of glass for the court-houses, and glaziers were paid at the rate of fifty pounds of tobacco to put it in place.[2] Some of these mechanics were so prosperous that they were able to acquire large tracts of land by patent. There are references in the inventories to cross garnets for windows. In a climate like that of Virginia, in which hail-storms and tempests arose so suddenly and prevailed with such violence, it was necessary to protect the glass panes with strong shutters; these shutters and the body of the house were in many instances allowed to remain unpainted, but this was not the case in general.[3] The example of Fitzhugh was doubtless followed by every other planter in the enjoyment of easy circumstances; on one occasion alone he is found importing a large quantity of colors, with walnut and linseed oil, brushes, and half a dozen suits of the three-quarter cloth in which the house painters of this age pursued their trade.

The surroundings of the planter's residence were plain and simple. The yard, as it was called, consisted of open ground, overshadowed here and there by trees. In the immediate vicinity of the house was situated the garden, devoted partly to vegetables and partly to flowers, thyme, marjoram, and phlox being as abundant there as in England. Many of the flowers and shrubs had only recently been

[1] Francis Mathews' personal estate included 37 feet of glass (*Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 130, Va. State Library), and John Carter's, one box, containing 144 feet of the same material (*Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 23).

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 470, Va. State Library.

[3] There is an entry in *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, pp. 19, 20, in which it is stated that Edward Floyd painted the windows of the Sparks "Great House" with white lead.

brought from the mother country. Byrd is discovered in 1684 writing to his brother in England, and thanking him for the gooseberry and currant bushes which had just been received; in the same year, he expresses to a second correspondent his appreciation of a gift of seeds and roots, which had been planted and had safely flowered.[1] The summer-houses, arbors, and grottoes, which Beverley declares were to be found near the residences were doubtless generally situated in the garden, and were erected to afford a cool place of retreat in the warmest hours of the summer day; the garden itself was always protected by a paling to keep out the hogs and cattle which were permitted to wander without restraint. In the immediate vicinity of the dwellings of the wealthy landowners, there were as a rule grouped the dove-cot, stable, barn, henhouse, cabins for the servants, kitchen, and milk-house,[2] the object of this in the last instances being to remove from the mansion the operations of cooking, washing, and dairying. In many yards, a tall pole with a toy house at the top was erected, in which the bee martin might build its nest, this bird bravely attacking the hawk and crow, and thus serving as a guardian of the poultry.[3] In some cases, wells were dug as a means of procuring drinking water, but the natural springs were so numerous that the use of the former was comparatively rare.[4] In the early history of the Col-

[1] *Letters of William Byrd*, May 21, 1684; *Ibid.*, May 20, 1684. The seeds and roots were the iris, crocus, tulip, and anemone. Flower-pots are sometimes included in the inventories of personal estates. See, for instance, *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 284, Va. State Library.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 22, 1686; Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 235.

[3] Such a pole stood in the yard surrounding the house of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Sr.

[4] "They have pure and wholesome water which they fetch wholly from springs, whereof the country is so full that there is not a house but hath

ony, when there was a constant prospect of an assault by the Indians, the law required that the ground immediately adjacent to every house should be palisaded. This provision was only temporary.[1] At a later period, many of the planters were in the habit of keeping the area about their dwellings enclosed by a stout fence. Fitzhugh selected locust for this purpose, the fibre of this tree being remarkable for its endurance.[2] The same wood was for a similar reason employed by other planters.

Before entering into a description of the different contents of the plantation house and its out-buildings in the seventeenth century, it will be interesting to consider very briefly what several of the earliest writers who were familiar with the Colony thought necessary that the person taking up his residence there should import in the way of clothing and utensils. The Company advised that in addition to bringing with him certain articles of apparel to which reference will be made hereafter, the emigrant should carry over a pair of canvas sheets, seven ells of fine and five ells of coarse canvas, and one coarse rug; for kitchen utensils, one iron pot, one kettle, a spit, one large frying-pan, two skillets, several platters, dishes, and wooden spoons.[3] Williams recommended, as we have already seen, that the emigrant should bring with him an iron pot, a gridiron, a large and a small kettle, skillets, frying-pans, dishes, platters, spoons, and knives.[4] The agent in London to whom Sir Edward Verney wrote when he had decided to send his son to Virginia, had practical knowledge as to the household goods that would be re-

one nigh the door." Glover, in *Philo. Trans. Royal Soc.*, 1676–1678, vol. XI–XII, pp. 635, 636.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 127.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 22, 1686.

[3] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, pp. 607–609.

[4] Virginia Richly Valued, p. 10, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

quired by an emigrant to the Colony; he restricted the articles which would be needed to a feather-bed, bolster, and rug, a pair of blankets and three pairs of sheets.[1]

In examining the inventories of the seventeenth century, it is soon discovered that the overwhelming majority of planters who left personal estates were possessed of a far larger quantity of household goods than were found in these meagre enumerations. The English descent of the householders was shown in every particular of their residences. I shall begin with a description of the furniture and take the bedroom as a starting-point. The variety of beds in the possession of the planters was the same as in English homes of the same period; there were the large bed, the sea-bed,[2] the flock-bed, and the trundle-bed, which was rolled under the large bed during the day. The bedtick was generally made of canvas and was stuffed with the feathers of wild or domestic fowls, or with hair or straw.[3] One of the materials most commonly employed for this purpose in the homes of the smaller planters was the flower of a plant that was found in all the marshes and ponds of the Colony and which is still known as the cat-tail. This stuff had the softness of feathers. It was entirely a local expedient. The large bed of the chamber was surrounded by curtains which were upheld by a rod, some of these hangings being red, some white, and some green. The material of which they were made consisted of prints, linsey-woolsey, or kidder-

[1] *Verney Papers*, Camden Society Publications; Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, pp. 109–111.

[2] Among the orders of court recorded in York County is the following: "John Thomas ordered to pay Mathew Page a good sea-bed." Vol. 1657-1662, p. 176, Va. State Library.

[3] Colonel Norwood mentions that when he arrived at the house of Jenkin Price in Accomac, he lay down on a bed of fresh straw. Norwood's *Voyage to Virginia*, p. 48, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

minster. The canopy does not appear to have been in common use. Some of the beds had mosquito nets.[1] The valances, which were bands of cloth suspended from the sides of the bed to the floor, were made of linsey-woolsey; drugget, a species of cloth of French production containing gold and silver threads; or serge, a scarlet cloth, which, like all the cloths of this period which were dyed this color, was dear in price; or kidderminster, flowered green and white. The pillows and pillow-biers were manufactured of white linen or canvas, and the former were stuffed with feathers. The sheets were of oznaburg, canvas, brown or white holland. The most common blanket was known as the duffield. The outer covering consisted either of a coverlet, which was green or white in color, or a quilt of mixed hues. Sometimes it was of leather.[2] The rugs were made of worsted yarn or cotton, and were white, red, green, or blue in color. In winter, the warming-pan was used as a means of taking the chill from the sheets, this household article being manufactured of brass. The couch, which was the forerunner of the sofa, served the purpose both of a bed and a reclining seat; it seems to have been made of different materials, references being found to wainscot, hide, tanned leather, embroidered Russian leather, and Turkey-worked couches. The last formed a part of the furniture in the houses of the wealthiest planters.

Prominent in the chamber were the trunk and the chest. Of the former, there were the plain leather, the

[1] References to mosquito cloth in the inventories are very numerous. Among the articles of personal property owned by Thomas Batte at his death were fourteen yards of this cloth. *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 234, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 21, contains a reference to a leather coverlet.

gilt leather, the cabinet, and the sealskin.[1] The chests were the principal receptacles of the most costly articles of clothing, many doubtless being highly ornamented. In them were placed the linen not in use, the garments of the past season, the fine dresses which were brought out only on special occasions, trinkets of value, and in some instances, plate. The substitute for the modern bureau was the case of drawers with a looking-glass fixed to its top. These glasses were of various sizes. There was also the detached looking-glass, which was often inserted in an olive wood frame. The chairs were made after several different fashions. There were the rush chair, the name derived from the material of which the seat was woven; the calfskin chair, which was doubtless the plainest in appearance; the Russian leather chair and the Turkey-worked chair. The Russian leather chair, the chair of the most costly manufacture, was found in all the dwellings in which there was any pretension to an unusual degree of comfort. In some houses, as many as two dozen were observed. The Turkey-worked chair was one the seat of which was covered with cloth highly ornamented with embroidered figures. In addition to these, there was the large wicker chair,[2] the small wooden chair, with a bottom woven of white oak strips, and the cane chair, the plain stool, and the joint stool.

The fireplace was guarded by fenders of iron or tin. On the hearth stood andirons of brass or iron, those of the latter material not infrequently weighing as much as fifty-six pounds. They often represented dogs with brass

[1] Inventory of Jonathan Newell included an oyster-shell trunk. *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1685, p. 146, Va. State Library.

[2] A wicker chair formed part of the household property of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr. *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 261, Va. State Library.

heads. There were shovels and tongs of iron, and doubtless, in many cases, of brass. In some of the houses, the backs of the chimneys were of the former metal.[1] A large chafing-dish was used at times for heating the chamber. The floor was frequently protected by carpets, some of which were of stout leather, some of stuffs highly figured and colored.[2] There were printed linens for the windows and printed cottons for the chimneys. In some of the houses, the walls of the chambers were hung with tapestry.[3] There were screens, escritoires, and clocks of various and often of costly patterns.[4] There were combs of horn and ivory for the arrangement of the hair. The basin and ewer were of pewter. The soap used in washing was either imported or the product of domestic manufacture. The inventories contain many references to "Virginia soft soap."

The respective value of the various articles in the numerous chambers did not differ in a very striking degree. In this respect, the appraisements of the contents of the rooms in the residence of Thomas Stratton of Henrico, a planter whose estate was fairly representative, was probably not exceptional; the furniture in one chamber above stairs was set down as worth thirty-two pounds sterling; in another, thirty-seven; that in the principal apartment on the ground floor, thirty-nine.[5] The furniture in the hall of the Yates residence in Lower Norfolk was entered at two thousand three hundred and

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, June 28, 1684; *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 98.

[2] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 106, Va. State Library. The term "carpet" was sometimes applied to table coverings.

[3] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 22, 1686.

[4] There is a reference to a clock in *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 247, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1697–1704, p. 137.

fifty-three pounds of tobacco; in the buttery, at a thousand and sixty-four; in the chamber, at six hundred and fifty; and in the closet, at ninety-six. This was near the middle of the century, when that commodity had begun to maintain a general average of about two pence a pound.[1] Corbin Griffin, a planter of Middlesex who was in possession of a large amount of property, bequeathed to his widow one hundred pounds sterling, with which to furnish presumably her chamber.[2]

The articles in use in the hall or dining-room, which was sometimes called the "great room," were comparatively few; among them were several varieties of tables, the most common of which were the short and the long framed, with benches or forms in proportion to their lengths, for seats. In addition, there were the folding, the falling, the Spanish, the Dutch oval, and the sideboard table. Some of these pieces of furniture were made of black walnut and some of cedar. The chairs found in this apartment were of the same character as those belonging to the chamber. An ordinary feature of this room was the cupboard, in which the plates and dishes were kept. The tablecloths were manufactured of cotton, oznaburg, dowlas, holland and damask, the damask tablecloth being of the finest texture, and therefore probably only used on special occasions. Among the articles included in the inventory of Mrs. Elizabeth Digges of York, presented in court in 1699,[3] were nine tablecloths of this material. The quantity of table linen in English and Virginian homes of the seventeenth century

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 35.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 108. The chamber furniture of Mrs. William Basset was valued at twenty pounds sterling. *Records of General Court*, p. 121.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 214, Va. State Library.

is one of the most striking features of the domestic economy of that age; it was true of the tablecloths; it was still more true of the table napkins, the need for which was greater in those times than in the present on account of the rarity of the fork. The napkin was made of damask, canvas, lockram, oznaburg, holland, dowlas, diaper, huckaback, and Virginian cloth. That of canvas was of the most inferior texture. Costly as the purchase of damask napkins must have been, it is found that Mrs. Elizabeth Digges left thirty-six of this material. Napkins of the finest quality were often worked in figures. The press in which these articles were stored was one of the most familiar pieces of furniture in the homes of the planters of the seventeenth century.[1]

The plates in use were made, some of earthen ware, some of wooden, but the greatest number were of pewter. Pewter plates had the advantage not only of cheapness but also of durability, in which respect they were superior to the earthen and wooden. References are also found to trenchers, which were pieces of board.[2] There were certain varieties of plates used for special purposes, as the pie-plate and the fish-plate. Many had been finely painted.[3] The dishes also were generally made of pewter, some weighing as much as five pounds apiece, and being either deep or broad. Besides the ordinary dish, there was the chafing, the butter, and the magazine dish. There are few references to the fork in the inventories of the seventeenth century;

[1] The furniture in the dining-room of Robert Beverley, Sr., one of the wealthiest men in the Colony, consisted of an oval and a folding table, a small table and a leather couch, two chests, a chest of drawers and fifteen Russian leather chairs, the whole valued at £9 9*s*. See inventory on file among *Records of Middlesex County*. The contents of the whole house were appraised at £207 19*s*. 6½*d*.

[2] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 685.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 71.

this article, not being generally found on English tables at this time, was not likely to enter into the domestic economy of the English colonist. Richard Hobbs, of Rappahannock, who died about 1677, owned a single fork.[1] John Foison of Henrico was in possession of one of tortoise-shell.[2] There are included in the personal estate of Robert Dudley of Middlesex, which was entered in court about 1700, a number of horn forks. James Blaise of the same county owned forks valued at two shillings. Corbin Griffin was also in possession of a few pieces of cutlery of this kind.[3] The knives in use were the case knife, which came in packages of a dozen, and the "slope point." The ordinary composition of the spoons was tin, pewter, or alchemy, the alchemy spoon appearing to be as common as the pewter. William Major of York County, as shown in the inventory of his personal estate, owned three dozen spoons manufactured of this material.[4] The steel spoon was not unknown. The salt-cellar was made of pewter, agate, or earthenware. There were in addition pewter or earthen porringers, sugar-pots, castors, custard-cups, bottle cruets, square glass and stone bottles, pewter bowls, and earthen jugs. There were for purposes of drinking a variety of receptacles, such as the tumbler, the mug, the cup, the flagon, the tankard, and the beaker. The cups were known by a number of names, such as the lignum vitæ, the syllabub, the sack, and the dram. The horn cup is sometimes referred to, but pewter was the material of which these utensils were generally made; there were few houses in which the raw metal was not

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 11, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 463, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, pp. 100, 112, 133.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1677–1684, p. 48, Va. State Library.

kept on hand in considerable quantities, to be consumed chiefly, however, in repairs.

A ware appearing on the table in the service of the meals less commonly than pewter or alchemy, but still not infrequently, was silver; plates and dishes were rarely found of this metal in the Colony, but it entered very often into the composition of the cups, tumblers, tankards, porringers, and spoons. The author of *Leah and Rachel*, writing about the middle of the century, remarked upon the fact that there was a good store of silver in many of the planters' homes.[1] This had either been inherited from English relations or been purchased in England. The instance of Margaret Cheesman, of Bermondsea, was not exceptional; in 1679, this lady is stated to have bequeathed a great silver beaker and tankard with other plate to the children of Lemuel Mason, who resided in Virginia.[2] The far greater quantity in the Colony was doubtless bought in the mother country, like other articles in household use. Byrd, writing to his merchant in London in 1684, instructs him to send to him, "two new-fashioned silver mugs, one to contain half a pint, the other one-quarter of a pint."[3] Fitzhugh purchased silver plate from time to time upon the principle that it was a form of property which would never lose its value, and, therefore, the parent was fortunate who could transmit much of it to his children as a part of his estate. In 1687, he directed Hayward to invest certain bills of exchange which stood to his credit in London in a pair of middle-sized silver candlesticks, a pair of snuffers, and a snuff-dish, and half a dozen trencher salts, the remainder to be expended in a

[1] Leah and Rachel, p. 16, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1693, p. 250.

[3] *Letters of William Byrd*, May 20, 1684.

handsome silver basin. In a letter to the same correspondent in 1689, he ordered to be sent him two silver dishes weighing fifty ounces apiece, and two, seventy ounces, a set of castors for sugar, pepper, and mustard, to weigh about twenty-four or twenty-six ounces, a basin, between forty and forty-five ounces, a salver and a pair of candlesticks about thirty ounces apiece, a ladle about ten ounces, and a case containing a dozen silver-hafted knives and a dozen silver-hafted forks. In 1698, he purchased in England two silver dishes of eighty or ninety ounces apiece, one dozen ordinary and two silver bread plates, one large pair of silver candlesticks and one pair of silver snuffers with a stand.[1]

The inventories show that many planters in moderate circumstances were in possession of a considerable quantity of silver plate. Among the items of the Farrar personalty there was one silver tankard, one silver beaker, one silver tumbler, three silver cups, two small silver salt-cellars, and ten silver spoons. In the Davis personalty, there were twelve silver spoons; in the Milner, a small silver tumbler, a sack, and three dram-cups. The Crews estate included plate valued at eleven pounds sterling. Silver tankards, spoons, and other varieties of dining service formed a part of the Isham estate. Richard Ward left to his children at his death twenty-seven silver spoons, one silver bowl, one silver dram-cup, two silver mugs, one silver tankard, and several silver salt-cellars.[2] Martin Elam bequeathed a silver tankard, two cups, and ten spoons. The owners of this plate were prominent landowners of Henrico County.

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 18, 1687; July 21, 1698.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692; Farrar, pp. 267, 268; Davis, p. 284; Milner, p. 286; Crews, p. 370; Isham, p. 392; Ward, p. 221.

The York records disclose that there were an equal number of planters in that county who were in possession of silverware representing the same varieties. Thus the Hunt estate included a silver currel, one sack and one dram cup;[1] the Croshaw personalty, a silver sack-cup, a silver tankard of the largest size, valued at four pounds sterling, perhaps equal in purchasing power to an hundred dollars in our modern currency, and twenty-four silver spoons.[2] Mrs. Elizabeth Digges bequeathed two hundred and sixty-one ounces of silver plate. Robert Booth left twelve silver spoons, one salt-cellar, and one silver tumbler.[3] In the estate of Richard Stock, there were thirteen silver spoons.[4] The silver plate owned by Mathew Hubbard was appraised at five pounds sterling,[5] while the proportion in the personalty of the Eubank estate was estimated at two pounds.[6] Joseph Croshaw bequeathed three silver spoons and three silver sack-cups to his wife, and one silver beaker, one silver caudle-cup, and two dram-cups of the same metal to one of his sons.[7] The estate of William White included six silver spoons, a silver wine-cup, and three dram-cups, one large silver tankard and one sugar-dish;[8] the estate of Quintillian Gutherick of Elizabeth City, a silver salt-cellar, a silver cup, a silver punch-bowl, and four silver spoons. Thomas Wythe of the same county left three silver tankards, a silver cup, and seven silver spoons.[9]

The personalty of William Kendall of Northampton included, in silver plate, twenty-seven spoons, four salt-

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 100, Va. State Library.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33. This was Richard Croshaw.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 130.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 532.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 472.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 255.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 256.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 152.
[9] *Elizabeth City County Records*, vol. 1684–1699, pp. 35, 100, Va. State Library.

cellars, two sugar-dishes, a porringer, a tankard, two dram cups, two punch and one caudle, and a pair of snuffers.[1] Henry Spratt of Lower Norfolk possessed, in the form of silverware, three plates, one tankard, one salt-cellar, a beaker, three caudle, three dram, and seven sack cups, two porringers, and fourteen spoons. Thomas Sibsey of the same county was the owner in silver of two beer-bowls, two wine-cups, a tankard, a beaker, twenty-four spoons, and four salt-cellars. The silver pieces belonging to Mrs. Sarah Willoughby were still more valuable; they were a large sugar basin, one large and three small salt-cellars, twenty-four spoons, two beer-bowls and one claret, a small tankard, a caudle and a dram cup, and a small porringer.[2] The silver owned by Robert Beverley of Middlesex were two tankards, one beaker, six cups, a porringer, a sugar-box, three trencher salts, one large salt-cellar, and seventeen spoons, amounting in value to thirty-one pounds sterling.[3] Corbin Griffin of the same county possessed one hundred and sixty-six ounces of silver plate.[4] Mrs. Rebecca Travers of Rappahannock owned in silver, one large salt-cellar, six trencher salts, one sugar-dish, eighteen spoons, a bottle, a snuff-dish with snuffers, a bowl, a tankard, a tumbler, two sack-cups and a dram-cup.[5]

In bequeathing their personalty, the testators were generally careful to apportion the silver plate equally among their heirs. This seems to have been in a marked degree the case in the disposition of spoons. The example

[1] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1689–1698, p. 500.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, Spratt, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 95; Sibsey, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 54; Willoughby, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 170.

[3] See Beverley's inventory on file in Middlesex County.

[4] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 135.

[5] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 289, Va. State Library.

of Richard Ward in this respect was the one commonly followed; in making a division of his silver plate, he left nine spoons to each of his three children, consisting of two sons and a daughter. The value attached by the owners to their silver service was illustrated in the case of Colonel Richard Lee, who took the trouble, on the occasion of a visit to England in the time of the Protectorate, to carry over his plate with a view to changing its fashion. The silver service of every person who was entitled to a coat of arms was engraved with his device.[1]

There is reason to think that few paintings adorned the walls of the chambers, halls, and parlors of the residences in that age. They were not entirely absent, however, from the homes of the most prosperous planters. Colonel Thomas Ludlow owned a portrait of Richardson, an English Judge.[2] In one of the rooms of his house, Joseph Croshaw of York had hung five pictures, whether portraits or landscapes it is impossible to discover from the inventory of his estate.[3] There was an equal number in the hall of Lieutenant Thomas Foote. The paintings in the parlor of Mrs. Elizabeth Digges could not have been of a high degree of merit, as they were appraised at five shillings only, there being in addition five of a small size in her garret. Those in the possession of John Smythe of York were also valued at the same amount.

[1] See a reference to the coat of arms of Colonel Richard Lee, engraved on his plate, in Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, vol. 1574–1660, p. 430.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 275, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of York County*, Croshaw, vol. 1664–1672, p. 257; Foote, *Ibid.*, p. 265; Smythe, vol. 1687–1691, p. 143, Va. State Library. See, also, reference in same volume, p. 379, to the "old pictures" of Mrs. Rowland Jones. The inventory of James Archer included a "parcell of pictures." Vol. 1694–1697, p. 429, Va. State Library. There is a reference to portraits in the will of William Fitzhugh, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 276.

Among the articles to be found in the rooms of the planter's residence were musical instruments, the most common of which was the virginal, but the hand lyre was not unknown. The cornet was also in use, and likewise both the small and the large fiddle, the violin, the recorder, the flute, and the hautboy.[1]

The utensils of the kitchen were made of brass, tin, pewter, wood, or clay. In the homes of the most affluent planters, there was probably an occasional boiler of copper and brass, imbedded in brick and mortar, and heated from beneath. This was a common feature of the English kitchens of that age. A boiler of this kind was often used in brewing. The principal utensil for boiling was the great iron pot which was hung on moving iron racks firmly attached to the chimney-piece; in summer, when a large part of the cooking was done out of doors, it was swung to a pole supported by posts and a fire lighted under it. Doubtless, the food of all the servants and slaves on each estate was prepared in a single mess in this utensil. These pots weighed in general about forty pounds, but in many cases they exceeded that figure. In addition, there were brass, tin, and copper kettles, some holding as much as fifteen gallons. There were iron spits for roasting, and iron and brass ladles for pouring the gravy over the flesh as it was cooking, and the dripping-pan for catching the gravy as it fell. There were grid-irons for broiling, iron and brass skillets for baking, and

[1] See, for these different instruments, *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, pp. 77, 532; vol. 1684–1687, p. 341, Va. State Library; *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 31; *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 137. The items in the inventory of Judith Parker included one recorder, two flutes, and one hautboy. *Records of Surry County*, vol. 1671–1684, p. 376, Va. State Library. Josiah Moody owned two violins. *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 42, Va. State Library.

pans for frying meats. There were brass chafing-dishes, skimmers, and saucepans, and pans of tin and earthenware for the reception of raw vegetables. There were mortars and pestles of iron, bell-metal, and brass; tin bread-graters, tin, sugar, and hominy sifters, wooden trays upon which the meals were borne from the kitchen to the dining-room; drawing-knives, which were probably the same as voiding-knives, with a slender blade, a keen edge, and a sharp point; chopping-knives, which were long, stout, and heavy, being used in dividing the solid meats both before and after they were cooked; also knives made for cutting cheese, dull and small in size; large flesh-forks which were employed in turning the meats in the pots; powdering-tubs in which beef and pork recently slaughtered were salted; flour-tubs, meal-barrels, tin cullenders, and funnels, butter and galley pots, pepper-boxes, wooden bowls, bell-metal posnets, pincers, rolling-pins, bellows, stillyards, scales, and weights. The oven was placed in the immediate vicinity of the house, being a brick structure in a hole in the ground.[1] The ironing seems to have been done in the kitchen; in the inventory of the contents of this room, box-iron heaters and sad-irons are generally found enumerated.

The utensils in the dairy, or milk-house, as it was usually called, were cedar churns, pails, noggins and piggins, tubs, trays, and strainers, cheese-presses, butter-sticks, and earthen butter-pots.

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 10, Va. State Library. "Upon the examination of Culpeper (a servant) . . . he confessed that John Green did come to him as he was at the oven about the bread." *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1632–1640, p. 47. See also *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 174, Va. State Library. Lessors sometimes bound themselves to repair "the brick ovens" belonging to the houses leased. See *Records of York County*, original vol. 1675–1684, p. 596.

In examining the furniture and utensils in the different rooms in the dwelling-house of the average planter of the seventeenth century, it will be found that no effort was made to preserve a distinct character for each apartment. With the exception of the kitchen, there was hardly a room in the building which did not contain a bed, a fact that was due either to the size of the families at that period, or to the hospitable spirit of the landowners. In the hall, where the meals were taken, there were frequently placed flock-beds, linen chests, smoothing-irons, guns, pistols, powder-horns, and cutlasses, swords, drums, saddles, and bridles. In the parlor, which was the term applied to the apartment used as a sitting-room by the family as well as a reception-room for the guests, there were large feather-beds and truckle-beds, and also chests filled with the most valuable clothing and the finest table and bed linen. In the chamber, every variety of article in use in the household was stored, while the dairy, in addition to the ordinary utensils of the milk-house, contained masses of old and new pewter for repairing flagons, porringers, stills, chamber-pots, tankards, and fish-kettles. Powdering-tubs, chests, rum-casks, stillyards, spinning-wheels, raw hides, and sides of tanned leather were enumerated as a part of the contents of the "poultry."

It will be interesting, as showing the division of the household articles among the different apartments of a dwelling, as well as throwing light on the character of these articles, to give in detail the items in the inventory of a planter whose estate was fairly representative of the average. I shall take the home of Thomas Osborne of Henrico, who died in the last decade of the century, leaving a personalty calculated to be worth one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling, which, according to the

values of the present day, amounted perhaps to three thousand dollars in American currency.[1] I shall omit all reference to the clothing and live stock of the estate, confining the enumeration to the furniture, table ware, bed and table linen, and the utensils in the kitchen and dairy. The room designated as the "best" contained a feather-bed, with a bolster and a pair of pillows, curtains and valance, a blanket, and a worsted rug. There were also two chests with locks and keys, one framed table and a large form, one small sideboard table, one chest of drawers, six high and six low leather chairs, a small old-fashioned looking-glass, a pair of andirons with brass bosses, a pair of bellows, and a small leather trunk. In the apartment described as the "outward room" there were a feather-bed with kidderminster curtains and valances, a bolster, a blanket, and a yarn rug, a pair of bellows, a large table and form, a small table, a chest, a couch, six rush-bottom chairs, and a pair of andirons. The apartment known as the "lodging room" contained a bedstead, a feather-bed, bolster, yarn rug, and blanket, a cupboard and chest, two Dantzic cases, and a small trunk. Passing from the lower to the higher floor, there were in the "best upper room" an old feather-bed and bolster, a pair of blankets and a cotton rug, calico curtains and valance, a new feather-bed and bolster, worsted kidderminster curtains and valance, a plain set of drawers, six Russian leather chairs, a small round table and looking-glass, a small seal-skin trunk and an ordinary chest. In the "north room" above stairs there were a bedstead, feather-bed, bolster, rug, and blanket, two pairs of holland and canvas sheets, a pair of holland and a pair of calico pillow-beers, two long diaper table-cloths, twenty-two diaper and six coarse napkins, four towels of Virginian

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 350, Va. State Library.

cloth, one chest, two warming-pans, four brass candlesticks, two small guns fixed and two unfixed, a carbine and belt, a silver beaker, three tumblers, twelve spoons, one sack and one dram cup. In the kitchen there were three brass kettles, a brass and a bell-metal skillet, a bell-metal and a brass mortar and pestle, a brass skimmer and ladle, two iron pots, two iron dripping-pans, a frying-pan, a pewter still, two iron pothooks, two iron potracks, a pair of andirons, six pewter spoons, two pewter flagons, one pottle-pot, one sugar basin, one salt-cellar, one pewter tankard, one saucer, a box iron, and two heaters. Among the miscellaneous articles enumerated in the Osborne inventory were one wool and one linen spinning-wheel, a pair of wool-cards, six towels made of tag ends, one dozen new and eight old plates, eighty-six pounds of raw pewter, a parcel of earthenware, an iron pestle, a pair of stillyards, one gridiron, and two pairs of tongs.

The personal estate of Captain Francis Mathews of York did not differ substantially from that of Thomas Osborne.[1] In the hall of the Mathews residence there were two frame tables, one six feet in length, the other four feet, two leather chairs, a cupboard and drawers, two brass candlesticks, a clock with weights, and a pair of stillyards. The parlor contained a bedstead with green curtains and valance, a feather-bed with pillow, bolster, blanket, and rugs, a truckle-bed with a bolster, two pillows, one blanket, and one rug, a flock-bed with bolster, blanket, and rug, four pairs of canvas sheets and one brown holland sheet, three pillow-biers, three chairs, a pair of andirons, a gridiron, a pair of tongs and a pair of bellows, a looking-glass, a chest and trunk, two wine-glasses, a table case with four knives, a warming-pan, twenty napkins and two table-cloths, a towel and two

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 130, Va. State Library.

night-caps. In the room opposite to the stairway, there were thirty-two books, a saddle and bridle, two pounds of powder and sixteen pounds of shot, a yoke, ring, and sickle. The chamber over the parlor contained a limbeck of copper, a pewter still and bottom, a bedstead, a saddle, and an iron chain. In the kitchen, there were two iron pots, three pairs of pothooks, one spit, one flesh-hook, a frying-pan, fourteen milk-trays, one brass kettle, two brass skillets, one brass and one iron mortar, eight pewter dishes, a sugar basin and flagon, fourteen ordinary and two pie plates, two porringers, a quart and a half-pint pot, a salt-cellar, a mustard-pot, two saucers, three old pails, a churn, one churn-press, one joint stool, one cider hogshead, one window frame, a broadaxe, a saw and grindstone, and three hides.

Such in general were the household goods, independently of clothing, of the Virginian planter of the seventeenth century who possessed the average amount of property. The inventories of the personal estates of members of this class varied only slightly in their details, the articles in use being confined, as a rule, to those which were considered necessary for substantial comfort. Descending in the scale, it will be interesting to inquire as to the household goods of persons in narrower circumstances. In 1678, the inventory of William Gibburd of York was presented in court.[1] It showed that he had in his lifetime owned the following articles in addition to live stock and clothing: two beds and bolsters, two rugs, two blankets, two pillows, a hammock, an iron pestle, a saddle and bridle, an iron pot and pothooks, a skillet, a frying-pan, a smoothing-iron and heaters, a pewter chamber-pot, six pewter dishes, ten trays, two pewter drinking-cups, two porringers, a sauce-pan, two tin pans, eight spoons, a box, six glass bottles,

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 53, Va. State Library.

two runlets, four cases, one trunk, one churn, two pails, a butter and a washing tub, six stools, four chairs, three hammers, three axes, a drawing-knife, a branding-iron, a bill, a cross-cut saw, a rolling-pin, two combs and brushes.

The house of Thomas Shippey of Henrico[1] contained only three apartments, a hall, bedchamber, and kitchen. In the hall, there were found a bedstead and bed, with a pillow and bolster, curtains and valance, a rug, a blanket and two pairs of sheets, a table form, an elbow chair, two leather and two wooden chairs, a small and a large chest. There were in the bedchamber, a trunk, a bed with a bolster, one rug, one blanket, and one pair of sheets, a small table-cloth, four napkins, and a towel; in the kitchen, there were six pewter dishes, three plates, two saucers, a tumbler, a chamber-pot, six spoons, a tankard, a pewter salt-cellar, an iron pot, spit, ladle, frying-pan, bread-tray, and pail.

The inventory of the personal estate of John Porter of Henrico, presented for record in 1689,[2] showed the following articles in use in his household: one wooden and four pewter dishes, six alchemy spoons, six pewter plates, three pewter porringers, three iron pots and pot-hooks, a frying-pan and a meal-sifter, three trays and two stone jugs, a pail and piggin, three stools, a wooden and a leather chair, a couch, two bedsteads, a bed filled with cat-tails, a second bed stuffed with feathers, curtains, valance, a cupboard, chest, trunk, and table.

To enumerate the household goods of other planters in the same position of life would only be to repeat the details which I have already given. Let us now consider the nature and quantity of the household articles found

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 5, Va. State Library.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

in the different rooms of the residences of planters in the enjoyment of the largest wealth which had as yet been accumulated in the hands of private individuals in the Colony. The home of Mrs. Elizabeth Digges may be examined as no unfavorable example.[1] In the hall parlor of her dwelling-house there were five Spanish tables, two green and two Turkey-worked carpets, nine Turkey-worked chairs and eleven with arrows woven in the cloth of the seats, one embroidered and one Turkey-worked couch, five pictures, two pairs of brass andirons, three pairs of old tongs, and one clock. There was in the passage a chest containing thirty damask, thirty-six diaper, and sixty flaxen napkins, three diaper, nine damask, and forty-eight flaxen table-cloths, eight diaper towels, three pairs of holland sheets and pillow-biers, eight ells of holland, eight yards of calico, five ells of linen, and four yards of bunting.

In the "yellow room," there were a chest of drawers, one Turkey-worked and two plain carpets, one remnant of worsted tapestry and seven remnants of silk, one cloth bed with curtains and valances lined with yellow silk, a silk and an ordinary counterpane, a calico quilt, a teaster and a head-piece, a suit of white, and two old red curtains and two boxes.

In the "large room" opposite the "yellow room," there were a chest of drawers, a feather-bed with bolster, blanket and three winter curtains, a looking-glass, two trunks, one pair of brass andirons, one old brush, and one wooden chair. In the "back room" opposite the "large room," there were a number of small and large books, one spice-box, several old gallipots, one pistol, two red trunks with a small quantity of different wares, a parcel of earthen utensils

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 213, Va. State Library. Mrs. Digges was the widow of Edward Digges, Governor of Virginia.

and glasses, several painted boxes containing combs and needles, small scales and weights, one looking-glass, one ring dial, two cases of knives, eight gold mourning rings, a diamond and a small stone ring, one parcel of sea pearls, an old bodkin, twenty ounces of plate, an old small table, an old paper box, an old feather-bed and bolster, an old blanket and rug, three iron curtain rods, three old calico curtains, three pillows, and two baskets.

In the "red room," there were a feather-bed with a bolster, two pillows, one blanket, a counterpane, a quilt, and curtains; there were also a drugget carpet, a pair of small iron dogs, two chairs, and a window curtain.

In the garret, there were two old feather-beds, five rugs, two blankets, a quilt, two bolsters, a small canvas bag, a napkin press, a brass pestle, five small pictures, one brass fire-shovel, two wooden platters, a rope, a remnant of canvas, and two old cushions. There were also in this apartment four chests, one of which contained eight curtains, an old blanket, and two pillows; there were also five old trunks with locks and keys and two old boxes.

In the second "back room," there were one bedstead, three feather-beds, two bolsters, two pillows, eight pillow-biers, thirteen pairs of sheets, seven old towels, three dozen flaxen napkins, nine old flaxen table-cloths, a small chest of drawers, two wooden and two leather chairs, one small table and brush, a pair of andirons, and a pair of fire-tongs.

In the cellar, there were one dozen quart glass bottles, six earthen pots, a stone mortar with wooden pestle, and a small quantity of old lumber.

In the kitchen, there were one still, a warming-pan, and a small quantity of old brass, two gridirons, seven spits, four iron pots and pothooks, two pairs of potracks, one pair of rack irons, three old frying-pans, one pair of old tongs, a fire-shovel, a nutmeg grater, three brass stands,

two kettles, one brass skillet with an iron frame, a small skillet, one large and one small copper, and an old chest.

In Virginia, in the seventeenth century, the candle was in common use as a means of illuminating the rooms of the planters' residences after night had fallen. It was made of different materials. The candle of myrtle wax was for several reasons one of the most popular articles employed, owing partly to the clear light which it gave forth, and partly to the exquisite odor emanating from it. It was considered equal to a candle of beeswax of the finest quality.[1] The myrtle was a plant that grew in all the marshes and swamps, and as its berries could be gathered in great quantities, and converted by boiling into wax, the means of illumination which it furnished was turned to account by the poorest as well as by the most affluent colonists. The candle made of myrtle wax was frequently consumed in the public service. Among the commodities paid for out of the public revenue in 1699, were twenty-six pounds of this vegetable wax and two pounds of cotton wick.[2] Deer suet was also used. In the statement of disbursements which Colonel Norwood and the other owners of the ship *Pink* made, the articles for which the tobacco in their hands was shown to have been expended included thirty pounds of this material, which had been purchased to be moulded into candles.[3] Candles were also manufactured of beef tallow. Many were imported. The composition of the candlestick was of earthenware, brass, pewter, copper, iron, or silver. In some cases, the column was screwed to the plate. The snuffers, and the stand in which the snuffers were placed,

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 108.

[2] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 68.

[3] See Accounts of Colonel Henry Norwood *et al.*, fly leaf, p. 23, *Letters of William Byrd.*

were made of the same metals as the candlestick. There were tin and brass lamps and tin lanterns. In the homes of the poorest class, it is quite probable that the pine knot served an important part in illumination, the turpentine, congealed in the fibre of the wood, causing it to burn with a fierce glare until consumed. The steel mill was in frequent use as a means of striking a light.

The fuel of the dwelling-house was found in the surrounding forests, which furnished a great variety of wood.[1] The hickory and the oak were abundant everywhere. The clearing of new grounds, this forming a part of the annual plantation work, supplied a great quantity of trunks and limbs of trees of all sizes. The large fireplaces of the residences in winter were filled with the heavy sticks, which, as the flames converted them into ashes, were, with a generous hand, replenished by others. There could be no waste or extravagance in this use of wood, the surface of the country being covered with forests which the owners were anxious to destroy. Warmth was one element of comfort the colonial householder could secure in the coldest spells of the winter without expense and with little inconvenience. The great wood fires, which cast such a cheerful glow about the different apartments of his home, must have done much to promote the contentment of all who entered into his family circle. In the mother country, throughout the seventeenth century, the forests steadily diminished, and wood for household use, in consequence, became dearer in value ; the difference in Virginia in this particular must have impressed all emigrants from England to the Colony, where firewood was the cheapest of

[1] Sea-coal seems to have been imported to a small extent. In 1690, eight barrels of this material, lying at Handy's Landing on Queen's Creek, were attached. *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 463, Va. State Library.

the more important materials entering into the domestic economy. The climate being a mild one during the greater portion of the year, the large fires were only kept up in the short intervals of very cold weather.

The same fact had a controlling influence in the matter of the clothing worn by the planters and their families. John Smith, who resided long enough in the Colony to form a just notion as to the character of the climate, has preserved the list of articles which the Company considered necessary to the comfort of the emigrant to Virginia in this respect; he was advised to take with him a monmouth cap, three falling bands, three shirts, one waistcoat, one suit of canvas, one of frieze, one of broadcloth, three pairs of Irish stockings, a pair of garters, four pairs of shoes, and a dozen pairs of points. The purchase of these articles entailed an expenditure of fifty-nine shillings.[1]

If reliance can be placed on the testimony of Pory, the presiding officer of the first Assembly convening in Virginia, the simplicity of the outfit advised by the Company was not followed even by persons in the lower ranks of life in the Colony. "Our cow-keeper in Jamestown," he wrote, "on Sundays goes accoutred in fresh flaming silk, and the wife of one in England that had professed the black art, not of a scholar but of a collier of Croyden, wears her rough beaver hat with a fair pearl hat-band and a silken suit thereto correspondent."[2] Pory was not indulging in as much exaggeration as would appear upon the surface. Among the regulations established by the Assembly in 1619, over which he presided, there was a provision that every person should, if unmarried, be assessed according to his apparel, and if married, according to the clothing belonging to himself and the members of

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 607.

[2] Letter of Pory, Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 111.

his family. The object of this was to discourage any disposition to show extravagance in dress, it being justly thought that in the state of the Colony at that time, all the settlers' means should be husbanded to ensure them the absolute necessaries of life.[1] Ten years after the adoption of this regulation, when the Colony had recovered fully from the blow inflicted by the great massacre upon all of its interests, there are indications that fine apparel was quite common in Virginia. In 1629, Thomas Warnet, a prominent merchant of Jamestown, died, and in his will bequeathed to different persons many articles of showy clothing, among them a coif, a cross-cloth of wrought gold, a pair of silk stockings, a pair of black hose, a pair of red slippers, a sea-green scarf edged with gold lace, six dozen buttons of silk and thread, a felt hat, a black beaver hat, a Polish fur cap, a doublet of black camlet, a vest, a sword, and a gold belt.[2]

The incongruity of such shining apparel with the rude surroundings of new settlements in the wilderness does not seem to have jarred upon the perceptions of the population except so far as it implied an unnecessary expenditure; and this view was only taken when the resources of the Colony for one cause or another were seriously impaired. About the middle of the century, a law was passed prohibiting the introduction of garments containing silk, or the introduction of silk in pieces except for hoods or scarfs, or of silver, gold, or bone lace, or of ribbons wrought with gold or silver. All goods of this character brought in were to be confiscated and then

[1] Lawes of Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 20. In the instructions to Wyatt, 1621, he was enjoined to allow only members of the Council and heads of Hundreds to wear gold in their clothes. *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 161.

[2] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1884, p. 197.

exported. In the matter of apparel, as in the other interests of their private lives and of the community at large, the colonists looked upon themselves as constituting just as much a part of the mother country in its social and economic habits as if no ocean rolled between Virginia and England. The physical conditions were different; the minds of the people were the same. Silk stockings, beaver hats, red slippers, green scarfs, and gold lace appeared to be as natural articles of apparel to the Virginians in the early part of the century, when the community was made up of a few small settlements, as they did to Englishmen in the largest towns of the kingdom in the same age. This was an element of those class distinctions which have always entered so deeply into the English spirit, and which have cropped out without regard to physical surroundings; nowhere were these distinctions more jealously observed than in the infant Colony, and it is not, therefore, surprising to find that in spite of the rough conditions of life prevailing there, there was a marked disposition to indulge a taste for expensive clothing.

It has been seen that it was the habit of all the planters in affluent or even moderate circumstances to keep on hand many ells of different cloths to supply household needs as they arose.[1] These were lockram, oznaburg, dowlas, blue linen, striped dimity, serge, kersey, canvas, penistone, calico, linsey-woolsey, shalloon, damask, muslin, drugget, fustian, thread silk, galloon, and Scotch. Some description of these various materials will be of interest as showing the nature of the fabrics in which the people of Virginia dressed in the seventeenth century. Lockram and dowlas were species of cheap and coarse linen; this was also the

[1] For examples, see *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 85, Va. State Library; *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 221, Va. State Library.

character of oznaburg. Canvas was a strong cloth made of hemp or flax. The cloth known as Scotch varied in texture. Holland was the name given to unbleached linen. Calico was a cotton cloth that was first imported into England by the East India Company. Dimity was also of cotton but of a stout and enduring quality, being interwoven with figures and patterns in colors. Penistone was a coarse woollen fabric of different hues. Broadcloth was of fine wool and commonly black in color. Fustian was the term first applied to a mixture of cotton and flax, but at a later date was used to designate a certain species of woollen goods. Drugget in the seventeenth century was composed in part of silk and in part of wool or cotton, the warp containing gold or silver threads. Galloon was a closely woven lace used in binding.

In England, as well as in the Colony, it was the custom of the age for consumers to purchase large quantities of these and other cloths, and to have them converted into garments for the person or into articles for household use. A comparison of the prices at which they were valued in the mother country with the prices at which they were valued in Virginia, will throw important light on one of the principal elements in the relative expense of living in England and the Colony. In England, the cost of lockram was generally about fifteen pence an ell; in Virginia, it ranged from twelve to twenty-one pence an ell, according to breadth and quality, an ell being equal in length to a yard and a quarter. In England, one ell of dowlas averaged sixteen pence in cost; in Virginia, one yard of the same material ranged from eighteen pence to two shillings and a half, and in some cases, when it was probably in a damaged state, sold for fourteen and fifteen pence. Dimity commanded in England from eight pence to one shilling an ell or the average; in Virginia, it ranged from four-

teen pence to two shillings. Scotch cloth was sold in England at the rate of about twenty pence a yard; in Virginia, it ranged from two to three shillings. The price of oznaburg in Virginia was about fifteen pence a yard; in England, it sold at the rate of twelve and three-quarter pence. Kersey in England ranged from twenty-eight pence to five shillings a yard; in Virginia, it was valued at from three to six shillings, according to width. Serge was sold in England in 1647 at the rate of six shillings a yard, but declined to two and three shillings towards the end of the century; in Virginia at this time it sold at the rate of three to five shillings a yard, according to quality.[1]

Some notion as to the texture of these different cloths can be obtained from the character of the articles of dress manufactured from them. The shirt was made of holland, blue linen, lockram, dowlas, and canvas, according to the quality desired; the holland representing the most costly and canvas the least expensive. The buttons used on the shirt were either of silver or pewter, and in many cases were carefully gilded. The drawers were of blue linen, calico, dimity, and canvas; a pair has been noted made of leather.[2] The stockings were either of silk, woollen or cotton thread, worsted or yarn. Thread stockings seem to have been used in riding. The shoes worn by men were

[1] For the prices of these various cloths in England, see Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V: for lockram, p. 557; dowlas, p. 557; dimity, p. 558; Scotch cloth, p. 554; oznaburg, p. 555; kersey, p. 575; serge, p. 575. The statement of prices in the Colony is based upon an extended comparison of the appraisements recorded in the county courts. The merchants who imported the cloths into Virginia obtained them in England at a lower price than they were retailed at in the kingdom. This accounts for the comparatively small difference between the prices at which they were sold in England and in Virginia.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 223, Va. State Library. "Drawers" was a term which in that age was very often applied to breeches.

made of ordinary leather, or they were of the sort known as French falls. The shoe buckles were manufactured of brass, steel, or silver. There are many references to boots, a popular means of protection to leg and foot, since the planters were compelled to pass much of their time on horseback.[1] The periwig was worn in the latter part of the century. In 1689, William Byrd forwarded one to his merchant in London with instructions to have it altered.[2] Among the personal effects of Robert Dudley of Middlesex were two articles of this kind. Thomas Perkins of Rappahannock left three at his death, and Alexander Young of York, two.[3] The covering for the heads of men consisted of the monmouth cap, the felt, the beaver or castor, and the straw hat, which occasionally terminated in a steeple. The neck-cloth was of blue linen, calico, dowlas, muslin, or the finest holland. The band or falling collar was made either of linen or lace, in keeping with the character of the suit. The material of the coat ranged from broadcloth, camlet, fustian, drugget, and serge, which became less expensive with the progress of the century, to cotton, kersey, frieze, canvas, and buckskin.[4] When of broadcloth, it was lined with calico and doubtless with different kinds of linen. There are numerous references

[1] In 1636 a pair of boots in Accomac were valued at forty pounds of tobacco. *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1632–1640, p. 66.

[2] *Letters of William Byrd*, June 10, 1689.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 103; *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 37, Va. State Library; *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1702, p. 439, Va. State Library. See also *Ibid.*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 381. The inventory in this instance included three. See also Stratton inventory, *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1697–1704, p. 137.

[4] There is a reference in the inventory of Edward Phelps to a buckskin coat. *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 174, Va. State Library. For a squirrel-skin coat, see *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, Sept. 25, 1646. Full buckskin suits were not as common in the 17th as in the 18th century.

to the stuft coat, and the smock, and to the serge or linen jacket. The upper garment used in riding seems to have been made of camlet. The buttons attached to the coat ranged in composition from small and large silk thread to brass and pewter, stone, silver, gimp, and mohair. The sleeve terminated in ruffles or cuffs when its material was of the finest quality of cloth. Over the ordinary coat a great-coat of frieze was worn in spells of cold weather; on special occasions a substitute was found in a blue or scarlet cloak or silk mantle. The waistcoat was made of dimity, cotton or drugget, flannel or penistone, and reflected a great variety of colors, white, black, and blue being the most common. It was also found adorned with what was known as Turkey-work. The breeches when of the finest quality were of plush or broadcloth; when of inferior material, of linen or common ticking. There are many references to serge breeches lined with linen or worsted, and having thread buttons, and also to callimanco, having hair buttons. The whole suit was occasionally of plush, broadcloth, kersey, or canvas, or the coat was made of drugget, and the waistcoat and breeches of stuft cloth.[1] The olive-colored suit was not uncommon. The handkerchiefs were of silk, lace, or blue linen, the gloves of yarn, or of ox, lamb, buck, dog, or sheepskin tanned, and were of local manufacture. The hands of children were kept warm by mittens. It seems to have been the habit of many persons among the wealthy class of planters to have even their plainest and simplest articles of clothing made in England. Fitzhugh instructed his merchant in London in 1697, to send him two suits of an ordinary character, one for use in winter and the other in summer. The exact measures for the shoes and stockings needed were

[1] A suit was sometimes valued at ten pounds sterling. See Will of Corbin Griffin on file in Middlesex County.

to be guessed at, and the only direction given as to the two hats ordered were that they should be of the largest size.

The clothing of the female members of the planters' families was obtained from the same source as the clothing of the planters themselves. The most costly part of it was imported. Many of the dresses worn must have been as handsome as the dresses of women of the same social class in England; there are numerous allusions to silk and flowered gowns, to bodices of blue linen or green satin, and to waistcoats trimmed with lace. The petticoat was of serge, flannel, or tabby, a species of colored silk cloth; it was also made of printed linen or dimity, and was trimmed with silk or silver lace. An outfit of gown, petticoat, and green stockings, composed of woollen material, is often entered in the inventories. The coverings for the head were of several kinds; there were sarsnet and calico hoods, palmetto hats[1] and bonnets trimmed with lace, to be used on special occasions. Black tippets were worn on the lower portion of the arms, and the hands were concealed by thread gloves. Scarfs reflecting a variety of colors were drawn about the neck, and mantles of crimson taffeta over the shoulders. The hose also varied very much in color, being white, scarlet, or black. There were silk garters dyed in different hues. The shoes of finest quality were either laced or gallooned. Woollen shoes and shoes with wooden heels were also worn. The aprons were of muslin, silk, serge, and blue duffield. Fans, many of which were doubtless highly ornamented, were conspicuous articles of dress in the toilets of the planters' wives, and golden and gilt stomachers were not unknown. Sweet powders were also in use.[2]

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 21, Va. State Library.

[2] One Henrico inventory contains the following item: "Two boxes of sweet powder and four puffs." Vol. 1688–1697, p. 463, Va. State Library.

When the stepdaughter of Joseph Croshaw of York set out for Virginia from England about 1661, she was furnished by Jonathan Newell with the following articles of clothing: a scarf, a white sarsnet and a ducape hood, a white flannel petticoat, two green aprons, three pairs of gloves, a long riding scarf, a mask, and a pair of shoes.[1] The wardrobe of Mrs. Sarah Willoughby of Lower Norfolk consisted of a red, a blue, and a black silk petticoat, a petticoat of India silk and of worsted prunella, a striped linen and a calico petticoat, a black silk gown, a scarlet waistcoat, with silver lace, a white knit waistcoat, a striped stuff jacket, a worsted prunella mantle, a sky-colored satin bodice, a pair of red paragon bodices, three fine and three coarse holland aprons, seven handkerchiefs, and two hoods. The whole was valued at fourteen pounds and nineteen shillings.[2]

Mrs. Francis Pritchard of Lancaster was in possession of a wardrobe quite as extensive as that of Mrs. Willoughby. It included an olive colored silk petticoat, petticoats of silver and flowered tabby, and of velvet and white-striped dimity, a printed calico gown lined with blue silk, a white striped dimity jacket, a black silk waistcoat, a pair of scarlet sleeves, a pair of holland sleeves with ruffles, a Flanders lace band, one cambric and three holland aprons, five cambric handkerchiefs, and several pairs of green stockings.[3]

An instance is recorded in York of the destruction of silks and linen valued at fourteen pounds sterling belonging to a lady of that county, in consequence of the carelessness of her servant in dropping fire into the trunk in which they were kept.

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 415, Va. State Library. See in same volume, p. 399; also p. 140 in vol. 1687–1691.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 147.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1674–1687, p. 77.

Among the property of women in this age were pearl necklaces, gold pendants, silver earrings, and gold hand rings which were often inscribed with posies. It was quite common for people making provision against the time of death to leave mourning rings to a large number of relatives and friends. Mrs. Elizabeth Digges in her will desired that eight should be distributed among the members of her intimate circle. Corbin Griffin of Middlesex bequeathed twenty-five pounds sterling for the purchase of rings of the same character, sixteen pounds of which were to be expended in such as would cost one guinea apiece. In his will, Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., ordered that twenty pounds of his estate should be used in buying mourning rings, which he directed should be given to certain persons who were dear to him. Francis Page left similar instructions. John Page empowered his executors to purchase eighteen for the same purpose,[1] Robert Hodge of Lower Norfolk, fourteen, and Robert Beckingham of Lancaster, sixteen.[2] In March, 1675, a judgment was entered in the General Court involving a large number of pearls which had not been delivered.[3] A few years before, Mrs. William Bassett had been permitted by the same court to retain her jewels as a part of her paraphernalia. Bequests of such articles to wives by husbands were not uncommon. In the estate of Arthur Dickinson, there were included one gold ring with seven rubies, a second ring with one ruby, a third with a white

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, Bacon, p. 153; Francis Page, p. 171; John Page, p. 137; Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 106; *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1674–1689, f. p. 19.

[3] *Records of General Court*, p. 213. See also *Records of Princess Anne County*, vol. for 1697, Oct. 21, in which there is an inventory that includes among its items ten pearls and fifteen bloodstones.

stone, and lastly, a ring of plain gold.[1] Nathaniel Branker of Lower Norfolk County, at his death was in possession of a sapphire set in gold, one gold ring with a blue stone, another with a green stone, and another still with a yellow, two hollow wrought rings, a diamond ring with several sparks, a mourning ring, a beryl set in silver, and an amber necklace.[2] Small gold and silver bodkins were used by the wives of the planters for the purpose of keeping the headdress in place.

Plantation life towards the end of the century, as at an earlier date, gave few opportunities even for the most moderate display. There were no towns where, as at Williamsburg in the following century, the families of the leading citizens of the Colony might gather at certain seasons and show off in considerable state the contemporaneous fashions. The church of the parish was the only social centre of each community. It was here alone that fine clothing could be exhibited on a public occasion. Doubtless at the weddings, and other social meetings of a private character, the most costly suits and dresses were worn.

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 474, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 17. There seem to have been skilful goldsmiths in the Colony. This is to be inferred from the following extract from the *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 201: "Whereas it appears that Peter Gibson received of Henry Royall foure gold rings to make two rings of them of ye same weight, but they being lost by accident, as ye said Gibson alleges, and made oath that ye said rings weighed but four pennyweight and eight grains. It is, therefore, ordered yt the said Gibson doe forthwith make two gold rings of ye aforesaid weight and deliver ye same to ye said Royall or order, making reasonable payment for making thereof with costs."

CHAPTER XIII

DOMESTIC ECONOMY OF THE PLANTER — *continued*

ALL the descriptions of Virginia in the seventeenth century transmitted to us go to show that the people of all classes in that age lived in the greatest abundance. Those conditions which had furnished the aboriginal tribes with an unlimited supply of food of extraordinary variety, with the need of but small effort in securing it, prevailed with little appreciable modification except in one or two particulars.[1] The soil, the air, the water, all contributed to the plenty so freely enjoyed by the great body of the English population. There were innumerable cattle that afforded butter, cheese,[2] milk, veal, and beef. The ice-house as yet did not enter into the household economy, and in consequence it was the custom of a planter on slaughtering an ox to send to his neighbors such portions of the carcass as could be spared, which the neighbor repaid in his turn.[3] At this time, the only means employed for the preservation of fresh meats was water flowing into a box house erected in the stream that issued from the spring, but this expedient did not serve

[1] Colonel Norwood in his *Voyage to Virginia* declares that Northampton was "the best county of the whole for all sorts of necessaries for human life," p. 48, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[2] The inventory of the personal estate of Nathaniel Bradford of Accomac included among its items fifty pounds of "Virginia cheese." *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1682–1697, f. p. 214.

[3] Leah and Rachel, p. 19, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

to keep such meats in good condition for any great length of time. Beef both dried and fresh were included in the inventories of estates.[1] In some cases it had been salted. The beef of the Colony, while pronounced to be of excellent quality, was not as fat as that produced in England, where the cattle perhaps were more carefully provided for in winter. A cow or an ox designed for the butcher was there most frequently stalled as a preparation for its conversion into food. In Virginia, it was allowed to run wild in the woods even in December and January, or was scantily fed on straw, and when the spring arrived, bringing the grass back to the fields and the leaves to the forest, the animal was almost exhausted. With the improved nourishment it soon recuperated, but never acquired the fatness which made English beef one of the most nourishing of all varieties of food.

As has already been stated, the bacon of the Colony, many years before the close of the seventeenth century, was considered by impartial foreign judges to be equal to that of Westphalia, the most celebrated in the world in that age.[2] Clayton expressed the opinion that it very much excelled the English. The very causes that

[1] One of the items in the inventory of Robert Drury of York County was "forty pounds of dried beef," this being in addition to other meats. *Records*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 333, Va. State Library. The inventory of Margery Bullington included eighty-seven pounds of beef. *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 306, Va. State Library. There were professional butchers in the Colony in the seventeenth century, some of whom, if an inference can be drawn from the case of William Johnson, were the owners of extensive tracts of land. See *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1703, p. 230.

[2] Clayton's *Virginia*, p. 36, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. Burnaby, writing nearly an hundred years later (1759), remarked: "The Virginia pork is said to be superior in flavor to any in the world." See his travels printed in *Va. Hist. Register*, vol. V, No. 1, p. 38. Large quantities of pork are enumerated in the inventories of the seventeenth century.

detracted from the quality of Virginian beef were favorable to the quality of Virginian bacon. The wandering existence of the colonial hog, by reducing its fat, was probably as effective in creating the superior flavor of its flesh as the mast, roots, and herbs upon which it fed while ranging in the woods. Clayton declared that shoats or porklets were the principal food of a large section of the population. Poultry were so numerous in the Colony even during the time of the Company that it was affirmed that only those planters who were bad husbandmen failed to breed an hundred a year, and that they formed a part of the daily meals of all who were in good circumstances.[1] As the general wealth increased, the use of domestic fowls as food was not confined to those who had comfortable means. Devries, a Dutch captain who visited the Colony in 1643, has recorded the fact that a carpenter, upon whose house he had stumbled when lost in the vicinity of Newport's News, set before him a meal consisting of turkey and chicken, which had been killed for his use.[2]

The number of sheep in Virginia being comparatively small, mutton was more esteemed than venison, which was so commonly eaten in some parts of the Colony that the people had grown tired of it.[3] The other kinds of game furnished food at certain seasons of the year in great abundance. Not only were the flocks of wild turkeys very large, but the birds themselves often attained to an extraordinary weight. The wild fowls in the rivers, creeks, and bays were so numerous in autumn and winter

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 885. Poultry, probably because they were so abundant, were rarely enumerated in the inventories. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 161; also *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 163, Va. State Library.

[2] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, p. 188.

[3] Clayton's *Virginia*, p. 35, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III; Leah and Rachel, p. 13. Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

that they were regarded as the least expensive food on the table of the planter;[1] the goose, the mallard, the canvas-back, the red-head, the plover, and other species of the most highly flavored marine birds were more frequently cooked in his kitchen than domestic poultry. Fish of the finest varieties were as easily obtained. Sheepshead, shad, breme, perch, soles, bass, chub, and pike swarmed in the nearest waters. Oysters could be procured in quantities as large as in the first years after the settlement of the country, while other species of shell-fish were found in almost equal abundance.

It was thought by many good judges, that the fruit of Virginia was superior in flavor to that of England. This was in the most marked degree the case with the peach and quince, the quince of the Colony, unlike that of the mother country, being sufficiently palatable to be eaten raw, while the difference between the English and Virginian peach was said to be as great in favor of the latter as that between the best relished apple and the crab.[2] There were grapes, plums, and figs in all of the gardens, and in season, large quantities went to decay because there was no way of using the superfluity. Strawberries grew in such abundance in the deserted fields that it was considered unnecessary to cultivate the plant; baskets were with little difficulty filled with the wild berries.[3] Apple orchards were numerous and furnished a supply of this fruit both for the summer and the winter. There were ten varieties of peas and two varieties of potatoes, the sweet and the Irish; there were pumpkins, cymblins,

[1] Among the twenty-one guns owned by Ralph Wormeley were five fowling pieces. See *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 128. Lands were frequently posted. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 251, Va. State Library.

[2] Leah and Rachel, p. 13, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[3] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 104.

melons, and roasting ears of Indian corn. All of the English vegetables flourished in the soil of Virginia. Walnuts, chestnuts, hickory, and hazel nuts were obtained from every forest. Honey was a common article of food, much attention being paid to apiculture; there were few householders who did not have hives under the eaves of their outbuildings, one planter owning as many as thirteen stocks.[1] Mr. George Pelton, who lived about the middle of the century, obtained from his bees an annual profit of thirty pounds sterling.[2] There were many wild swarms in the woods, the honeycombs, which were concealed in the hollows of trees, becoming very frequently the booty of the colonial bee-hunters.

Among the imported articles of food was rice and sweetmeats, and spices in large quantities were also brought in. There were pepper and cloves, mace and cinnamon, ginger, sugar,[3] and lime-juice, oranges, lemons, raisins, and prunes. Salt formed a part of the stores of every planter, being needed not only for giving flavor to the different dishes appearing on the table at meals, but also for the preservation of meats reserved for household consumption, or designed to be exported.[4] Wheat-bread was in common use among the members of the highest class, but bread made of Indian corn baked in large or small

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 446, Va. State Library. See also *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 354, Va. State Library. New Description of Virginia, p. 4, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II. Mr. Nicholas Seabrell of York owned seven hives. Vol. 1664–1672, p. 162, Va. State Library.

[2] New Description of Virginia, p. 15, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.

[3] In a letter to John Cooper of London in 1685, Fitzhugh writes: "I have only in my former sent for 100 pounds of sundrey sugars, and about 60 or 80 pounds of powdered sugar." June 1, 1685.

[4] Among the articles in household use owned by Giles Mode in 1657 were two hogsheads of salt, one of white, the other of bay salt. *Records of York*, 1657–1662, p. 48, Va. State Library.

cakes in the pan, was equally as popular; it was most probably the only bread eaten by the servants and slaves. As early as 1621, it was generally recognized by the people of the Colony that Indian corn bread was more nourishing than wheat in the arduous life which at that time they were compelled to lead, and the same fact had been observed at a later period in the case of men who had been required to work with their hands.

Twenty years after the foundation of the Colony it was asserted, it would seem with considerable exaggeration, by a woman of prominence who had resided there, that from her own ground of a few acres in Virginia, she could provide for her household more abundantly than in London by an expenditure of three or four hundred pounds sterling,[1] which in that age was equal to several thousand dollars in our modern currency. The ease with which a subsistence was secured, the combined result of a fertile soil and a genial climate, was the principal explanation of the hospitality for which the people were distinguished before the country had been settled half a century.[2] Colonel Norwood, in describing his sojourn on the Eastern Shore after his shipwreck, relates that he was feasted not only by the host whom he happened to be visiting for the time being, but also by all the planters in the neighborhood. There seems to have been some rivalry as to who should be able to set before their guest the greatest variety of dishes. Norwood, who was not unfamiliar with the manner of life of the English court, commended the cooking in Virginia.[3] The gentry seem to have felt much pride in their tables, taking pains, we

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 887.

[2] Leah and Rachel, p. 15, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[3] Norwood's *Voyage to Virginia*, p. 48, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

are informed by Beverley, to have their victuals cooked and served as if they were in London.[1]

It was the general habit of the colonists to charge nothing for the casual entertainment of a stranger, sufficient remuneration being derived from the enjoyment of his society, a pleasure of no small importance in the secluded life of the plantations. It was especially provided by law that unless there had been a distinct arrangement to pay for accommodations, both in regard to food and shelter, nothing could be recovered from a guest, however long he might remain under the roof.[2] The usual charge for board about the middle of the century was five pounds sterling for twelve months, or about one hundred and twenty-five dollars in American currency of the present age. Bullock stated, that by the expenditure of this sum in the Colony, any one might live in a manner which in England would entail an outlay of thirty pounds sterling, six times the amount required in Virginia.[3] The rates for victuals at all of the ordinaries were carefully prescribed by law. Previous to 1639, the cost of a meal was fixed at six pounds of tobacco, or eighteen pence in coin, but in the course of that year it was reduced to twelve pence, or its equivalent in the same commodity, the abundance of food of all sorts being unusually great.[4] Five years later, the charge for a meal at an inn was not allowed to exceed ten pounds. Only wholesome diet was to be furnished, and that in sufficient quantity.[5]

During the session of the Assembly in March, 1657–58,

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 236.
[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 192.
[3] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 37.
[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 229.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

special rates for a meal and lodging at Jamestown were enforced by the authorities, a master being required to pay twenty pounds of tobacco and a servant fifteen.[1] The same charges were prescribed by an Act of Assembly a decade later, this Act extending to all parts of the Colony. So onerous were the rates adopted by the tavern keepers on their own motion, that it is stated to have had a serious effect in deterring persons having just claims from attending the General and County Courts and prosecuting their suits. The excessive demands had their origin not so much in the exorbitant spirit of the keepers of ordinaries as in the limited character of the local custom, and the great danger of depreciation in the leaf offered in payment. The rate fixed upon by law for a single meal, fifteen pounds for a master and ten for a servant, was very high, as fifteen pounds of tobacco at this time would bring, if its quality was good, not less than five shillings in modern English currency, which appears remarkable in a country distinguished for an extraordinary abundance of provisions.[2]

Ten years later some important changes were made in the rates for food at the taverns. For a master, the amount for a single meal was fixed at twelve pounds of tobacco and for his servant at eight, if they were stopping at an ordinary in the town where the General Court or the Assembly had convened. Elsewhere it was to be ten for the master and six for the servant. The cost of lodging for each one was not to exceed three pounds, whether at Jamestown or at other places in the Colony. The charge for pasturing a horse, the owner of which was a guest of the inn, was fixed at six pounds for a period of twenty-four hours; if sheltered and supplied with hay and straw, the fee for the same length of time was to be

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 490. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 263.

eight. Grain was to be furnished at the rate of forty pounds of tobacco a bushel, and oats at the rate of sixty pounds.[1]

At different periods in the course of the seventeenth century, an attempt was made to arrange the general scale of prices at which articles of food were to be sold, without regard to their being disposed of in a tavern or not. This was often done in the early decades by the proclamation of the Governor and Council. The rates set by the owners were doubtless very much higher than those laid down in these proclamations, nevertheless the rates prescribed in the latter represented with substantial accuracy the true value of such articles at the time. In 1625, a pound of tobacco was worth about one shilling. In this year was renewed the proclamation that appeared in 1623, the year of the great dearth following the massacre, which led to exorbitant charges for the most ordinary articles. A pound of sugar was rated at one pound of tobacco or one shilling in coin, a firkin of butter at twenty pounds of tobacco or twenty shillings, Newfoundland fish at ten pounds of tobacco or ten shillings a hundred, Canada dry fish at twenty-four pounds of tobacco or twenty-four shillings a hundred, Canada wet fish at thirty pounds of tobacco or thirty shillings a hundred.[2]

In 1642, a tax was imposed upon every tithable person in the Colony for the benefit of Governor Berkeley, to be paid in provisions of different kinds. The rate prescribed for geese and turkeys was five shillings apiece; for hens, twelve pence; for capons, one shilling and six pence; for beef, three and a half pence a pound; for a calf in condition to be slaughtered and converted into veal, twenty-five shillings; for a goat, twenty shillings; for a

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 394.

[2] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 1.

roasting pig, three shillings; for butter and cheese, eight and six pence a pound.[1]

When, in 1676, English soldiers were sent to Virginia for the purpose of suppressing the insurrection which had broken out under the leadership of Bacon, an order was issued that the people should sell them the following articles at the prices named, the ratio of the purchasing power in the currency of the present day being obtained by multiplying the figures by four or five: fresh beef was to be sold at the rate of two pence a pound and dressed beef at the rate of three; fresh pork at the rate of two pence and salted pork at the rate of two and a half. The price set for dried bacon was five pence a pound; for a cock, hen, or pullet, ten pence; and for a capon, fifteen. Milk was to be sold at the rate of two pence a quart in the interval between September 30th and May 20th, and of one penny between May 20th and September 30th. During these two successive periods, the price of butter was to be six and five pence respectively. The price set for eggs was a penny for three. Indian corn was to be sold at the rate of two shillings and six pence a bushel, and wheat at the rate of four shillings. To this must be added the outlay in converting these grains into meal and flour.[2]

It will be seen from this general statement of prices that the cost of the principal articles of food had fallen in the interval since 1642 in some cases as much as fifty per cent. Allowance must be made for the fact that the rates laid down in this schedule had been arranged at military dictation. The charges for food at this time were very

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 281.

[2] Acts of Assembly, Feb. 20, 29th year of Charles II Reign, *Winder Papers*, vol. II, p. 99, Va. State Library. In 1631, milk sold at Kecoughtan at the rate of twelve pence a gallon. Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of Council*, vol. 1667–1688, p. 235.

high, the suppression of the insurrection having left all the interests of the Colony in a state of confusion. The schedule was adopted to override this condition of affairs by force of law.

In the list of debts filed against the estate of John Griggs, in February, 1678–79, there is found an interesting statement of prices of certain provisions. For instance, a beef was appraised at four hundred pounds of tobacco, a turkey at forty pounds, two geese at eighty, two bushels of flour at ninety, and twenty pounds of butter at one hundred.[1] A pound of tobacco at this time was worth from one and a quarter to two pence. In 1682, the price of fresh beef was fixed at ten shillings or one hundred pounds of tobacco a hundred-weight; the price of fresh pork at twelve shillings or one hundred and twenty pounds of the same commodity a hundred, representing in both instances a value of one penny and one-fifth of a penny a pound.[2] Dried beef was higher by several pence.[3]

The different figures quoted show very plainly that the rates for provisions gradually fell in Virginia with the progress of the seventeenth century; this was due to the increase in the number of plantations, and the enlargement of the volume of production in every department. The decline continued in the eighteenth century for the same reasons. When Beverley wrote his history of Virginia, a pound of beef or pork ranged in price as low as one penny. The fattest pullets were sold for six pence apiece, a turkey hen for fifteen or eighteen, and a turkey cock for two shillings.[4]

It is interesting to compare the rates for provisions in

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 87, Va. State Library.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 104; Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 507.
[3] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 45.
[4] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 236.

Virginia with the rates for the same articles of food in England during the seventeenth century; a just conception may be thus obtained of the relative expense of living in the two countries during this long period. In England, the price of beef at the beginning of the century was nearly two pence a pound, and at the close of it four pence. In the Colony, it was precisely the reverse. Three and a half pence in 1642, when the provision tax was imposed for the benefit of Sir William Berkeley, the price of one pound of beef was one penny and one-fifth of a penny in 1682, and at certain seasons one penny only in 1705. In 1645, veal was sold in England at two shillings and seven and a half pence a stone; in 1678, at two pence, two and a half pence, and two and three-quarter pence a pound. In these instances, the weight of the calf when slaughtered did not exceed ninety pounds. The price lists adopted by the Assembly in Virginia make no specific reference to veal, the rates for this meat doubtless being included in those for beef. The valuation laid down for a calf in 1642, namely, twenty-five shillings, conveys no definite idea as to weight, the age alone of the animal being taken into consideration. The Virginian price lists fail to include mutton, an indication of the small part which it played in the economy of the household. Some notion as to its cost in the Colony as compared with its cost in England may be obtained from the relative values of sheep in the two, which have been touched upon in the account of the agricultural development of Virginia at different periods. Pork in the mother country rose in price as time advanced, reversing, as in the case of beef, the history of the same article of food in the Colony, where it commanded, in the latter part of the century, a penny and one-fifth a pound. In England at this time three pence seem to have been the lowest rate, and in

some cases it rose to six. The differences in the prices of bacon in England and Virginia were not so marked, five pence a pound being its value in the latter country in 1677, while in the former it sold not infrequently for seven.[1]

In England, the price of butter fluctuated very much in the seventeenth century. During the course of the first thirty years, it rose very steadily; then, with the exception of the interval between 1643 and 1652, when it was very dear, it declined during thirty years, then rose in price again, until in the last decade it was rated at a very high figure.[2] In 1600, it commanded five pence and one-seventh of a penny a pound, or four shillings eight and a half pennies a dozen pounds; in 1650, six pence and five-twelfths of a penny a pound, or six shillings and five pence a dozen pounds; in 1700, at seven pence a pound, or seven shillings a dozen pounds.[3] In 1642, butter was sold in the Colony at eight pence a pound;[4] in 1667, when food was dear, at six pence in winter and at five in summer.[5] By the end of the century, it had sunk to still lower figures. The same fact is observed in regard to butter as in the case of other forms of food, that is to say, it grew dearer in England as the century advanced and cheaper in Virginia. The rates for milk in 1677, the only year in which a record of its value exists, were two pence in winter and one penny in summer, adopting the quart as the standard of measurement. The only reference to the price of this article in England

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, price of beef and veal, pp. 334, 338; pork and bacon, p. 343.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 373–378.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 281.

[5] Acts of Assembly, Feb. 20, 29th year Charles II Reign, *Winder Papers*, vol. II, p. 99, Va. State Library.

in the same century is in connection with the interva between 1643 and 1649; in the latter year, it sold fo five pence a gallon, or one and one-quarter pence a quart. The probability is that it followed the ratio of increase i price observed in the case of other provisions. In Eng land, the price of eggs fell from four shillings in 1600 t two shillings six and a half pence in 1645, one hundre or eight dozen being taken as the standard. For the res of the century there appear to be no data. It woul seem that, like butter, eggs rose in price towards the clos of the century. The falling off in value for the first fift years represented a decline from half a penny an egg t about one-third of a penny. In 1677, a year of grea scarcity, the price of an egg was in Virginia fixed at one third of a penny, but this doubtless was a much highe valuation than prevailed at a later date.[2] In 1642, a capon sold in England at one shilling five and a hal pence, in Virginia at one shilling six pence; in 1678, i England at three shillings, in Virginia in the same yea at one shilling five pence; in 1700, at two shillings si pence in England, in Virginia at eight or nine pence. A hen or pullet in England sold in 1642 at eleven and a half pence, in Virginia at twelve pence; in 1676, in Eng land at two shillings, in Virginia at ten pence; in 1700 in England at two shillings and six pence, in Virgini at six pence. In 1642, a goose sold in England at tw shillings and a half penny, in Virginia at five shillings in 1678, in England at three shillings and six pence, i Virginia at forty pounds of tobacco, which were equa in value to about one and a half pence a pound; in 1700

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 362

[2] Acts of Assembly, Feb. 20, 29th year Charles II Reign, *Winde Papers*, vol. II, p. 99, Va. State Library; Rogers' *History of Agricultur and Prices in England*, pp. 372, 375.

in England at three shillings and six pence, in Virginia at ten pence or a shilling. The same difference was to be noticed with respect to turkeys and ducks.[1]

In the *True and Sincere Declaration*,[2] issued in December, 1609, by the Governor and Council for Virginia, there was an advertisement for two brewers, who as soon as they were secured were to be dispatched to the Colony; and in a broadside published about this time the advertisement was repeated.[3] Brewers were also included among the tradesmen who were designed by the Company to go over with Sir Thomas Gates.[4] This indicated the importance in the eyes of that corporation of establishing the means in Virginia of manufacturing malt liquors on the spot instead of relying on the importations from England. The notion arose that one of the principal causes of the mortality so prevalent among those arriving in the Colony in the period following the first settlement of the country was the substitution of water for the beer to which the immigrants had been accustomed in England. The Assembly, in the session of 1623–24, went so far as to recommend that all new comers should bring in a supply of malt to be used in brewing liquor, thus making it unnecessary to drink the water of Virginia until the body had become hardened to the climate.[5]

Previous to 1625, two brew-houses were in operation in the Colony, and the patronage which they received was evidently very liberal. The population of Virginia at

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, prices of capon, pp. 374, 378; hen, p. 378; goose, p. 375. For Virginian prices, see Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 281, vol. II, p. 506. Beverley's *History of Virginia*, pp. 236, 237.

[2] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 353.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 356.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 470.

[5] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 7.

that time had, with the exception of a small proportion of the inhabitants, not only been born but also reared in England, and had, therefore, the English thirst for strong liquors. It was not long before they discovered the adaptability of the persimmon to beer.[1] It was even sought to make wine of sassafras.[2] Barley and Indian corn were planted to secure material for brewing, the ale produced, both strong and small, being pronounced by capable judges to be of excellent quality.[3] Twenty years after the dissolution of the Company, there were six public brew-houses in Virginia, the malt used being extracted from the barley and hops which had in considerable quantities been raised for this purpose.[4] In 1652, George Fletcher obtained the monopoly of brewing in wooden vessels for a period of fourteen years.[5] In some places, beer was, about the middle of the century, the most popular of all the liquors drunk in the Colony,[6] the great proportion of it being brewed at this time in the houses of the planters. With the progress of time, the cultivation of barley practically ceased. In the period

[1] Broadside, 1621, Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, vol. IV, p. 1784.

[2] This was the project of a Mr. Russell, a chemist, who proposed, in consideration of £1000 to be paid by the Company, to demonstrate that wine could be produced from the sassafras. The proposition was accepted by the Company with some modification, but as nothing more is known of the matter, it is to be inferred that Mr. Russell failed to show what he had undertaken. *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fifth Report, Appx., p. 341.

[3] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 886. George Thorpe, writing to John Smith of Nibley in 1620, comments on the fact that the colonists had found a way to make a good drink from Indian corn, which he preferred to English beer. Cholmondeley MSS., *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fifth Report, Appx., p. 341.

[4] Perfect Description of Virginia, p. 3, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.

[5] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 231.

[6] Leah and Rachel, p. 13, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

of the English Protectorate, there were offered a number of petitions from English merchants who were anxious to obtain licenses to export malt to Virginia;[1] the quantity brought in steadily increased, the landowners in good circumstances purchasing it to be used in making beer. They also imported the beer itself. The poorest class of people had recourse to various expedients as a substitute for malt. They brewed with dried Indian corn or with bran and molasses; or they brewed with the baked cakes of the fruit of the persimmon tree; or with potatoes; or the green stalks of maize chopped into fine pieces and mashed; or with pumpkins; or the Jerusalem artichoke, which was planted like barley to be consumed in the manufacture of spirits. It is said, however, that the liquor made from this vegetable was not very much esteemed.[2] There are many references in the county records to malt-mills and also to malt-houses,[3] which were the private property of planters. Some owned distilleries,[4] others worms and limbecks.

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. XIII, No. 12.

[2] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 238. The following letter relating to the importation of malt is preserved in the *York Records:*

"LONDON, May 2, 1660.

Brother: I doe hereby desyre you to deliver unto Mr. Robert Whithaire or Richard Merret, and in their absence, then unto Mr. Christopher Harris in Queen's Creek in York River, five hogsheads of mault, marked HN No. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20. . . ." *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 308, Va. State Library.

[3] Reference has been made to the malt-house of Francis Page. Edmund Scarborough had also erected a house for this purpose. *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1666–1676, p. 31. The malt was generally kept in the cellars. Giles Mode writes in 1657 to Mr. Bushrod as follows: "I am sensible the mault you had in ye sellar was betwixt six and seven bushels. . . ." *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 48, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1664–1673, p. 83, Va. State Library.

Cider was in as common use as beer; in season it was found in the house of every planter in the Colony. In the opinion of English judges, like Hugh Jones, it was not much inferior in quality to the most famous kinds produced in Herefordshire.[1] Fitzhugh, however, does not appear to have entertained this opinion, although, like Jones, he had in early life been in a position to compare English with Virginian cider on the ground where it was made. On one occasion, he sent to George Mason of Bristol a sample of the cider of the Colony, accompanying it with a somewhat apologetic letter: "I had not the vanity," he wrote, "to think that we could outdo, much less equal, your Herefordshire red stroke, especially that made at particular places. I only thought because of the place from where it came, it might be acceptable, and give you an opportunity in the drinking of it to discover what future advantages this country may be capable of."[2]

Large quantities of cider were frequently the subject of specialties; thus Peter Marsh of York County about 1675 entered into a bond to pay James Minge one hundred and twenty gallons.[3] It was also the form of consideration in which rent was occasionally settled.[4] The instance of Alexander Moore of York shows the quantity often bequeathed; he left at his decease twenty gallons of raw cider and one hundred and thirty of boiled. Richard Moore, of the same county, kept on hand as many as fourteen cider casks.[5] Richard Bennett made about twenty butts of cider annually, while Richard Kinsman compressed from the pears growing in his orchard forty

[1] Hugh Jones' *Present State of Virginia*, p. 41.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, May 17, 1695.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 63, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 106, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 64, Va. State Library.

or fifty of perry.[1] These liquors seemed to have been kept in butts, hogsheads, and runlets. A great quantity of peach and apple brandy was also manufactured.

In addition to beer and ale, the liquors most generally used by the wealthier planters in the early history of the Colony were sack and aquavitæ.[2] With the passage of time, madeira became the most popular form of spirits with the members of this class in use at meals, and punch, manufactured either from West Indian rum or apple or peach brandy, at other times.[3] The people at large drank rum or brandy if a strong drink was desired.[4] Mathegelin, a mixture of honey and water, was also consumed.[5] Among the lighter wines in use were claret, fayal, and Rhenish.[6] It is a fact of curious interest, from our present point of view, that the rarest French, Portuguese, and Spanish wines and brandies were found in the ordinaries of Virginia in the seventeenth century, and the rates at which they were disposed of were carefully fixed by law. Where now only

[1] New Description of Virginia, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II. This was, perhaps, as already stated, Kingsmill, not Kinsman.

[2] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 886. It is stated in this reference that "few of the upper planters drink any water."

[3] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 238. A liquor was also made from the quince. See Newell Inventory, *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 142, Va. State Library.

[4] Hugh Jones' *Present State of Virginia*, p. 52.

[5] New Description of Virginia, page 15, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.

[6] Fitzhugh, writing in 1694 to Mr. George Mason of Bristol, said: "I thank you for your half dozen of claret, and should have in gratification returned you a hamper of cider, but on examination found none worth the sending." July 20, 1694. Under date of July 25, 1690, Byrd wrote to one of his English correspondents and thanked him for a large quantity of Rhenish wine which he had sent. "The wine, although the cask was somewhat leaky, was extraordinarily good, better than any I had in bottles, and if we could find a way to settle our trade, it would do well, especially in this scarcity of claret."

the meanest brands of whiskey can be bought, madeira, sherry, canary, malaga, muscadine, fayal, and other foreign wines were offered for sale. Had there been no popular demand for them, they would not have been imported. Descended from a race of hearty and liberal drinkers, the English, it would have been remarkable had the Virginians of the period shown no strong tendency to indulgence in liquor. It is highly probable that the comparative loneliness of plantation life and the absence of exciting amusements had a powerful influence in stimulating the love of spirits prevailing in the Colony from the earliest time. The authorities of the Company in England, writing in 1622 to the Governor and Council in Virginia, attributed the massacre by the Indians, which had recently taken place, to the anger of Providence, who thus sought to punish the inhabitants "for enormous excesses in apparel and drinking."[1] In 1638, Governor Harvey declared in an official communication dispatched to England, that one-half of the principal commodity of the country, tobacco, was thrown away in a superfluity of wines and strong waters.[2] One of the most cogent reasons for requiring all shipmasters to keep the bulk of their cargoes unbroken until they arrived at Jamestown, a standing regulation for many decades, was to prevent a waste of the people's substance in purchases of liquors, to the neglect of the necessary articles of life. Fitzhugh states that in making bargains for the acquisition of the main crop of the planters, a certain percentage of expense had to be allowed by the trader for the spirits which would be consumed before the

[1] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 322. See, however, the pathetic denial of this charge in a letter of the Governor and Council, dated Jan. 20, 1623, p. 367.

[2] Harvey and Council to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *Winder Papers*, vol. I, p. 145, Va. State Library.

agreements were closed.[1] So intemperate was the indulgence at funerals, more especially in cider and rum, that some testators left instructions in their wills that no liquors were to be distributed on the occasion of their burials.[2]

A supply of spirits was provided for the members of public bodies when they convened. The character of the liquors used depended somewhat on the nature of the assemblage. When Charles Hansford and David Condon, as the executors of the widow of the unfortunate Thomas Hansford, who lost his life on account of his participation in the insurrection of 1676, leased her residence in York to the justices of the peace of that county to serve as a court-house, they bound themselves to furnish not only accommodations for horses, but also a gallon of brandy during each session of the bench. It is not stated whether this brandy was consumed by the honorable justices in the form of the drink which has become so famous in later times in Virginia, the mint julep, but if mint was cultivated in the Colony in that age, it is quite probable that a large part of this gallon was converted into that mixture, the kindly effects of which were certainly not promotive of a harsh disposition in the enforcement of the law by the magistrates of York.[3]

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 8, 1687. In the account of Richard Longman, as attorney of his father, an English merchant, preserved in the *Records of York County* (vol. 1664–1672, p. 115, Va. State Library), six pounds sterling is entered as the amount expended in drink in making sale of the goods represented in the account.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 165, Va. State Library. The language of the testator in this case was as follows: "Having observed in the daies of my pilgrimage the debauches used at burialls tending much to the dishonour of God and his true Religion, my will is that noe strong drinke bee p'vided or spirits at my burialls."

[3] *Ibid.*, 1675–1684, p. 35. I have not been able to find any reference to the mint julep in the seventeenth century. It was doubtless the inven-

In 1666, the justices of Lower Norfolk County rented the tract of land on which the court-house was situated, on condition that the lessee, in part consideration for the use of the houses and orchards each year, would pay ten gallons of ale brewed from English grain.[1]

The members of the Council appear to have been fastidious in their tastes. It was one of the duties of the Auditor-General to have a large quantity of wine always ready at hand for this body; thus on one occasion, William Byrd, who filled the office in the latter part of the century, ordered for their use, twenty dozen of claret and six dozen of canary, sherry, and Rhenish respectively. A quarter of a cask of brandy was also to be added.[2]

This unrestrained indulgence in liquor, which previous to 1624 had excited the criticism of the Company, called down on the Colony on several occasions the animadversion of the Royal Government after it had taken charge of affairs in Virginia. In 1625, Governor Yeardley was instructed to suppress drunkenness by severe punishments, and to dispose of the spirits brought into the Colony in

tion of a later period. Licenses were issued for the sale of cider at the meetings of citizens in attendance on the local courts. This is shown in the following extract from the *Records of Lancaster County* (original vol. 1680–1686, orders July 12, 1682): "George Mayplis, petitioning the court to have ye privilege of selling of cider at ye courthouse in court time, the court doth order, provided it be no ways injurious or prejudicial in ye disturbing of ye court in their time of sitting, have admitted him so to do for this season." That the justices were not entirely proof against the attractions of the cider and the other liquors sold on court days is seen in the provision for the punishment of those members of the bench who should become intoxicated. Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 384.

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 35.

[2] *Letters of William Byrd*, June 4, 1691. Under date of June 10, 1689, Byrd wrote: "If claret is not to be had, we must be content with port (that is, for the Council). . . . I desire you to send me a hogshead of claret wine. . . ."

such manner that it would go to the relief and comfort of the whole plantation, instead of falling into the hands of those who would be most likely to abuse it. He received additional orders to return to the importers all liquors shown to be decayed or unwholesome.[1] In 1638, the latter instruction, which had also been given to Wyatt, who was Governor at this time, was modified to the extent of requiring him to stave every vessel or cask containing spirits shown to be unfit for drinking. The injunction as to withholding all liquors imported into the Colony from persons who were guilty of excess in the use of them was repeated.[2]

The attempts to prevent drunkenness were not confined to instructions to the Governors, given by the authorities in England; from the first session of the earliest Assembly, no legislative means were left unemployed to accomplish the same object. In 1619, it was provided that the person guilty in this respect should for the first offence be privately reproved by his minister; and for the second, publicly; for the third, be imprisoned for twelve hours, and if still incorrigible, be punished as the Governor directed.[3] In March, 1623–24, the church wardens in every parish were ordered to present all persons guilty of drunkenness to the commander of his plantation. In 1631–32, the penalty of the English law was imposed, that is to say, the offender was required to pay five shillings into the hands of the nearest vestry, and this fine

[1] Instructions to Governor Yeardley, 1626, *British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book*, vol. LXXIX, p. 248; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 395.

[2] Instructions to Governor Wyatt, 1638–39, *Colonial Entry Book*, vol. LXXIX, pp. 219–236; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 47, Va. State Library.

[3] Lawes of Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 20.

could be made good by a levy upon his property. In 1657–58, the most stringent regulations were adopted in suppression of this among other vices specially named; not only was the person guilty of inebriety to be punished by a very heavy fine, but he was to be rendered incapable of being a witness in court, or bearing office under the Government of the Colony.[1] In 1691, the penalty for the offence of drunkenness was fixed at ten shillings, and if the guilty person was unable to pay this sum, he was to be exposed in the stocks for the space of two hours. Eight years subsequently, the fine was reduced to five shillings.[2]

The opportunities of obtaining liquor were very much increased by the large number of ordinaries in the Colony, in all of which a great variety of spirits was sold. It is probable that most of these establishments were mere tippling-shops, an inference justified by the strict regulations as to the prices at which liquors were to be disposed of by innkeepers. It is interesting to examine these prices as showing in part the expense of living in Virginia. Previous to 1639, beer alone was rated at the taverns, from which it is to be supposed that this was the only form of spirits to be had in the ordinaries at that time. The amount prescribed by law was six pounds of tobacco, or eighteen pence in coin. About the year 1639, a condition of great plenty prevailed, and in consequence the charge was reduced to twelve pence or one shilling.[3] Five years later, not only was the sale in the taverns of all liquors except strong beer and ale prohibited, but no debts, made by the purchase of imported wines or other spirits, could be enforced in a court of justice. This

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 126, 193, 433.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 139, 170.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 229.

was found to be so inconvenient that the Act of Assembly in which it had its origin was repealed.[1]

The Act does not seem to have at any time applied to wine manufactured from grapes produced in the Colony, or to cider or perry compressed from apples or pears of Virginian growth, an exception being made in the case of these spirits in order to encourage the planting of orchards and vineyards. It was stated that beer and ale were also excepted for the purpose of promoting the cultivation of English grain.[2]

To check exorbitant charges on the part of innkeepers, special rates were now laid down for retailers of the different wines and strong waters. The price by the gallon for canary, malaga, sherry, muscadine, and allegant was fixed at thirty pounds of tobacco; for madeira and fayal, at twenty pounds; for French wines, at fifteen; for the finest brands of English spirits, at eighty; and for brandy or aquavitæ, at forty.[3] It is a fact worthy of attention that keepers of ordinaries were allowed to retail wines and other liquors at Jamestown when the merchants were expressly forbidden to do so. It was important to the public that the taverns at the seat of the Colonial Government should not fall into decay, and the exclusion of the merchants from the local traffic in strong waters shows how dependent the innkeepers of that community were upon the sale of spirits for their prosperity.[4] This regulation was put in operation at the close of the year 1645. In November, 1647, the old law which rendered all debts for wines and strong waters not pleadable in a court

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 295.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, vol. for the years 1642, 1643, f. p. 34.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 300.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

of justice was revived without regard to the business of the creditor.[1] The transfer of spirits by the wholesale on shipboard was expressly excepted from the scope of this prohibition. Although it was stated that the rule that such debts should not be pleadable was to be perpetual, ten years had barely passed away before it was found necessary to establish rates for the sale of liquors by retail, which undoubtedly gave validity to obligations thus created. The interval between 1645, when the first schedule of prices was adopted, and 1657, when the second, covered only the period of a decade, and yet it is found that in this length of time, the rates for malaga, canary, sherry, muscadine, and allegant had doubled, while madeira and fayal had advanced from twenty pounds of tobacco a gallon to fifty; French wines, from fifteen to thirty; English spirits, from eighty to one hundred and twenty; and brandy or aquavitæ from forty to sixty. The decline in the price of the leaf in this interval was a partial explanation of the increase in the rates.[2]

We have evidence that the retailers were in the habit of mixing the cheaper with the dearer, and of adulterating it still more grossly with a view to a larger profit. In the event that the fraud was discovered, the Commissioners of the Court in the jurisdiction of which the act was committed were authorized to order the constable of the county to stave the casks containing the liquor condemned.[3] Special rates were permitted in the sale of spirits by retail at Jamestown during the session of the Assembly in the spring of 1658. The keepers of ordinaries could dispose of their Spanish wines for thirty pounds of tobacco a quart, or one hundred and twenty pounds a gallon, this being a quadruple advance upon the rates at which these wines were allowed to be sold in 1645,

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 350. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 446. [3] *Ibid.*

and double the rates permitted in 1657. The price laid down for French wines was twenty pounds of tobacco a quart and eighty pounds a gallon, representing, when compared with previous charges, the same ratio of increase. A rate for beer was now quoted for the first time since 1639, when it was the only liquor that could be legally disposed of by retail. In that year, it was valued at less than six pounds of tobacco. It was now valued at twenty.[1]

The permission to sell at these high figures, which, as we have seen, was granted to the keepers of ordinaries at Jamestown, only had their justification in circumstances wholly local in character and entirely confined to one occasion. The Assembly was compelled to admit that the stringent laws adopted to restrain exorbitant charges for liquors in the ordinaries had failed of their purpose; this was largely on account of the extreme fluctuation in the prices of tobacco, which led to the establishment of a regulation apparently well adapted to protect the interests of the retailer of liquor, as well as those of the purchaser: the judge of each county court was authorized to apply from time to time a sliding scale to the rates, as the value of tobacco rose or fell.[2] In order to ensure its strict observance, every ordinary keeper was compelled to give bond, and had also to obtain a special license, paying three hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco to the Governor for it.[3]

After 1663, all retail sellers of liquors were required to use only the English sealed measures of pints, quarts, or gallons. Spirits imported in bottles were allowed to be disposed of without breaking the seal. It is an indication of the heavy exactions to which buyers had been exposed under the lax system previously prevalent, that

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 489. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 522.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 19, 20.

a failure to introduce the English measures as directed by law exposed the retailer of liquor to the enormous fine of five thousand pounds of tobacco, and if he was also an innkeeper, to the cancellation of his license.[1]

In 1666, the difficult matter of placing the rates upon an exactly just footing to the buyer and seller of liquors alike was settled by the adoption of an entirely new regulation; this consisted of allowing the seller by retail to charge treble the amount which the spirits he disposed of had cost him, provided that this general rate was not in excess of the figures prescribed by law. Thus the charge for Spanish and Portuguese wines was not to exceed ten shillings, or one hundred pounds of tobacco a gallon; the charge for French wines was not to exceed eight shillings, or eighty pounds of tobacco a gallon; for rum, ten shillings, or one hundred pounds of tobacco; for brandy and English spirits, sixteen shillings, or one hundred and sixty pounds of tobacco. Permission was granted to ordinary keepers to secure as large a profit from the sale of beer as they could within a limit of four shillings a gallon, or forty pounds of tobacco. This price was extremely high, the privilege of larger gain in the case of this liquor being allowed on the specific ground that it was of domestic manufacture. What were described as "Virginia drams," that is to say, apple and peach brandies, were to be sold within the restriction of the rates laid down for English spirits.[2]

It would seem that, for many years, the accounts of innkeepers for the liquors furnished to their customers had not been pleadable, although they had been charging at established rates. The right was now granted to them to sue upon these accounts in a court of justice and to recover judgment, but it was required that the action

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 113. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

should be brought within a year after the debt was contracted. Twelve months later, the same schedule was readopted, except that the rate for cider and perry was fixed at two shillings six pence, or twenty-five pounds of tobacco a gallon.[1]

In 1668, there were so many taverns and tippling-houses in the Colony, that it was found necessary to reduce the number in each county to one or two, unless, for the accommodation of travellers, more should be needed at ports, ferries, and the crossings of great roads, in addition to that which was erected at the court-house. All persons who conducted drinking-shops without license were fined two thousand pounds of tobacco.[2] The rates adopted for liquors in 1666, and readopted in 1667, having been found in 1671 to be too high in some instances, were materially lessened; those for Portuguese, Spanish, and French wines were retained, while those for brandy, English spirits, and "Virginia drams" were cut down from sixteen shillings, or one hundred and sixty pounds of tobacco a gallon, to ten shillings, or one hundred pounds. The price of beer, which had been valued at four shillings a gallon, and of cider and perry, which had been valued at two shillings and six pence, was fixed at two shillings, or twenty pounds of tobacco a gallon. If the beer had been brewed with molasses, one shilling, or ten pounds, was the charge.[3]

In 1676, during the supremacy of Nathaniel Bacon, at which time so many laws were passed for the purpose of suppressing long-standing abuses, a legislative attempt was made to enforce what practically amounted to general prohibition. The licenses of all inns, alehouses, and tippling-houses, except those at James City, and at the two

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 234, 263, 287. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

great ferries of York River, were revoked. The keepers of the ordinaries which were permitted to remain open at the latter places were allowed to sell only beer and cider. This regulation was the more remarkable from the fact that it was adopted by the action of the people at large, who must have been the principal customers of the tippling-houses, if not of the inns. Not content with putting a stop to sales in the public places, the framers of the regulation further prescribed that "no one should presume to sell any sort of drink or liquor whatsoever, by retail, under any color, pretence, delusion, or subtle evasion whatsoever, to be drunk or spent in his or their house or houses, upon his or their plantation or plantations."[1]

After the suppression of the insurrection, this sweeping measure was substantially modified by a substitute restricting the number of ordinaries allowed in each county to two, Jamestown for obvious reasons being excepted from its scope. The rates for "Virginia drams" were fixed at ten shillings, or one hundred pounds of tobacco a gallon; for beer, at two shillings, or twenty pounds a gallon; for perry and cider, at twenty pounds if boiled, and at eighteen if raw. Tobacco at this time commanded about one and a half pence a pound. The prices of the foreign wines and spirits were to be fixed for each county in the months of May and November by the justices according to the market values then prevailing; and a failure on the part of these officers to set the rates subjected the court of which they were members to a very heavy fine.[2]

[1] Bacon's Laws, 1676, Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 361.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 394. The alternative "ten shillings or one hundred pounds of tobacco" would seem to show that 1½*d*. a pound was now the price of tobacco. It would be safe to place its value a little higher, as the lowest figure was probably adopted by the Assembly.

This system of establishing rates for foreign wines and spirits continued in operation during the remainder of the century and was embodied in the code of 1705; it was so eminently proper it seems surprising that it should not have been put in force from the beginning. Not only were the prices of foreign liquors when thus sold made to accord with the prices at which they were purchased before their importation into the Colony, but they were also, and this was a matter of still greater consequence, kept in touch with the fluctuating value of tobacco, in which form of currency the wines and spirits were rated. Promptness in raising or lowering the schedule as circumstances demanded was ensured by the frequent sessions of the justices. The records of the county courts subsequent to the passage of the Act of 1676–77 contain regular reports of the prices established by them. From one of these entries, it is learned that in 1688 the charge for brandy by the gallon was fixed at sixty pounds of tobacco; of rum and madeira, at fifty pounds; and of other island wines, at forty. This was in Henrico.[1] In York County, at this time, the rates were calculated in coin. Canary was to be sold at eight shillings a gallon, sherry at six, Rhenish at four and six pence, claret and white wines at four, rum, madeira, and fayal wines at two shillings and six pence.[2] In the schedule adopted by the justices of the same county six years later, the only change made was in the price of claret, this wine being reduced from four to three shillings and six pence, an indication that it was now imported in larger quantities.[3]

It was required that the rates at which liquors were to be sold should be set in all the counties. Those which have

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 31, Va. State Library.
[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 321, Va. State Library.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 225.

been given are representative. The tables from which these quotations were drawn show that the conditions referred to in regard to spirits offered for sale in the ordinaries at an earlier day existed also in the latter part of the century, that is to say, that liquors which in more recent times have been looked upon as among the luxuries of the rich alone, were in that age in the reach of the whole people, and could be bought in the Virginian taverns as readily as beer, cider, and perry of local manufacture. Madeira, malaga, canary, and fayal wines were probably much more abundant in the Colony than in England at this time, and were drunk by classes which in the mother country were content with strong and small beer. In England, beer was in such common use that no quotations as to the rates at which it was sold are given by Professor Rogers in his great work on the history of prices in that kingdom. In Virginia, its value seems to have steadily advanced, as it commanded twelve pence a gallon in 1639, and two shillings in 1671; the latter price, however, was for the finest brands, since it is stated that beer brewed with molasses was still rated at one shilling a gallon.

The rise in the price of beer was perhaps due to the fact that in the early part of the century, the greater proportion of the whole quantity in the Colony was produced in local breweries, either public or private, while towards the end of the century, liquor of this kind of the best quality was imported, thus materially increasing the outlay to the consumer. Cider being of local manufacture altogether, did not vary substantially in value after the orchards in Virginia had become numerous. Two shillings and six pence a gallon seems to have been the highest figure at which it was sold. In England, about the same time, it was retailed at a very much lower rate.[1]

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 327.

It will be of interest to compare the prices of the spirits imported into the Colony with the prices of the same spirits as sold in England in the same age. In Virginia, the Spanish and Portuguese wines, madeira, canary, malaga, and fayal were, in 1666, as has been seen, set down at ten shillings a gallon as the very highest figure at which it was legal to sell them. In 1671, this regulation was readopted. It is not probable that the innkeepers disposed of these wines at rates as advanced as were allowed by law except in unusual instances, six or seven shillings a gallon being perhaps the average amount under ordinary circumstances. That this supposition is substantially correct appears from the prices fixed by the justices of the Henrico county court in 1688, when madeira was assessed at fifty pounds of tobacco and the other island wines at forty pounds. If we apply the ratio of values prescribed by Act of Assembly in 1682, a pound of tobacco being accepted in that statute as worth one and a fifth pence, which is a high rather than a low figure for a year of large crops, like 1688, it will be seen that the cost of madeira was about five shillings a gallon, and of other Spanish and Portuguese island wines about four shillings. In England, madeira sold in 1697 at six shillings eight pence a gallon, a difference in its favor in Virginia of one shilling and eight pence. The average rate of canary in the mother country throughout the seventeenth century was five shillings eight and a quarter pence,[1] which was higher than the price of the same wine in the Colony in 1688, and probably than its average price from the time when it was first imported. Sherry rose in value in England from three shillings eight pence in 1617 to eight shillings in 1698 a gallon. In 1688, the same quantity of sherry was sold in Virginia at the rate of four shillings;

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 445.

before this, the highest figure allowed by law had been ten, which, however, was specified merely as a limit without being necessarily the amount fixed for the ordinary charge.[1] In 1688, sack was sold in the Colony at four shillings a gallon, the highest rate prescribed for it at any previous time being half a pound sterling. This limit also was probably never reached, except occasionally by exorbitant keepers of ordinaries. In England, the average price of a gallon of sack in the seventeenth century was five shillings and three pence.

The wines of France appear to have been dearer in Virginia than in England. The only French liquor much used in the Colony was claret, which, in 1666 and 1671, was rated at eight shillings a gallon, as the highest figure at which it was to be sold. Modifying this charge in order to reach the probable general average, and the price of claret still remains greater in Virginia than in the mother country, where the general average for the whole of the seventeenth century was only three shillings a gallon. The explanation of the costliness of French wines in the Colony as compared with those of the Spanish and Portuguese islands, is to be found in the fact that in conformity with the Navigation laws, which did not apply to the island wines, they were imported first into England and from thence into Virginia. English spirits were of course dearer in the Colony, to which they had to be transported, than on the spot where they had been manufactured. In 1671, English brandy commanded in Virginia ten shillings a gallon; in England in 1674, four shillings.[2] The prices of liquor in the Colony were probably affected somewhat by the imposition of a duty of three

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, pp. 445, 446.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 450.

pence upon every four quarts of it brought in, unless it had been conveyed from the mother country. English importations were excepted from the scope of the Act.[1] In 1691, the general tax was increased to four pence; if introduced in a vessel belonging wholly to Virginians, the duty upon the gallon was to be only two pence.[2]

The liberal use which was made of spirits by all classes was not simply due to the indulgence of an appetite for liquor inherited with that English blood which has always gratified itself so freely in this respect under English skies. It was supposed to have a favorable influence upon the body from a medical point of view. The "morning draught" was a popular expression in the Colony long before the close of the seventeenth century.[3] This was the draught with which the day was begun, and it was the popular belief, a belief doubtless formed with the most delightful facility, that such a draught was the surest means of obtaining protection against the miasmatic exhalations of the marshes. The taint of sickness in summer lingered about the oldest settlements, and at all seasons followed in the track of settlers on the frontier engaged in cutting down the forest, who thus set free the germs that invariably lurk in a mould created by rotting leaves and decaying wood. This assured a large practice to all who made any pretensions to the art of the physician. It is evident, from the number of medical bills entered upon record in the seventeenth century, that the expense of illness was an important drain upon the

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88. If the vessel had been built in Virginia, no duty was imposed.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 71, Va. State Library. Deposition of William Clopton: "That coming to the French ordinary on March 9, he happened to meet with Mr. Thomas Walkinson, who asked your deponent to give him a morning draught. . . ."

resources of the colonial families in the course of that long period. The experience of Richard Longman, who was residing in Virginia in the years 1661, 1662, and 1664, where he was acting as the attorney of his father, an English merchant, probably represents the experience of all who remained in the Colony only temporarily, and, therefore, not long enough to become inured to the climate. He was not content to engage the services of one practitioner, but in succession employed three who were distinguished for their skill. First, there was Dr. Robert Ellyson, who presented a bill of twelve pounds sterling; secondly, Dr. Haddon, whose charges amounted to eleven pounds and four shillings; and thirdly, Dr. Napier, whose bill was only a few shillings smaller.[1] That Longman should have called in so many physicians in turn was due, very probably, not to dissatisfaction with their learning and ability, but to the fact that, in selling merchandise and collecting debts belonging to his father, he was compelled to remove from place to place. In 1670, Dr. Haddon charged a patient one thousand pounds of tobacco for twenty days' attendance, the distance he had to ride each day being fourteen miles; this bill was increased to fourteen hundred and sixty pounds by the medicines which he furnished,[2] the whole representing in value a sum slightly less than fifteen pounds sterling. In 1695, the account of Dr. William Ellis of Elizabeth City against William Harris, including the costs of visits, physic, and advice, ran to seven pounds and ten shillings.[3] In all of these instances, the number of miles which the practitioner had to travel were carefully noted. On the

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 117, Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 92, Va. State Library.

other hand, in the account of Dr. George Glover against Edmund Dil, a seaman, there were entries for supplies of food and for lodging as well as for medicine and attendance, the amount of this bill being seven pounds sterling.[1] In some cases, the patient, in consideration of the fact that his physician agreed to attend him and his family during his life, granted him a tract of land covering as much as one hundred acres in area.[2]

There are indications in different parts of the seventeenth century that the charges of practitioners were considered to be grossly immoderate. So excessive were their rates previous to 1630, that masters were tempted to suffer a servant to perish for want of proper advice and medicines rather then submit to their exactions. It was now provided that in every case in which a patient had just cause to think that the account of his medical attendant was wholly unreasonable, he should have that attendant summoned to the court of the county in which the patient resided. Here the physician was required to state upon oath the quantity and value of the medicines which he had administered, and the judges then decided what satisfaction was to be allowed him. These provisions remained in force during a long course of years.[3]

The accounts of physicians were, in 1661, made pleadable against the estates of deceased persons, and these accounts, in case the patient recovered, were barred unless sued upon before the end of six months.[4] In 1661, the rule was adopted that when a practitioner was summoned to court to answer for immoderate charges, he should be

[1] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 143, Va. State Library. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 8; see also *Ibid.*, p. 367, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 272, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 316, 450.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 26.

allowed fifty per cent advance upon the value of the medicines administered to the plaintiff, his patient, and such a sum for his visits and advice as they were decided to be worth.[1] Thirty years later, he was permitted to obtain an hundred per cent upon the full value of his drugs as sworn to in court.[2] These drugs represented a considerable variety of preparations, which it appears the physicians were only too ready to give, however slight the indisposition. A very popular course in the case of the most common disease of the country, ague and fever, seems to have been to prescribe first, several spoonfuls of crocus metallorum, and then for the purpose of purging, fifteen to twenty grains of rosin of jalap; this was followed by Venice treacle, powder of snakeroot or Gascoin's powder.[3] Powders, ointments, plasters, and oils were among the medicines most generally used.

The items in a bill of Dr. Haddon of York for the performance of an amputation have been preserved. They included one highly flavored and two ordinary cordials, three ointments for the wound, an ointment precipitate, the operation of letting blood, a purge *per diem*, two purges electuaries, external applications, a cordial and two astringent powders, phlebotomy, a defensive and a large cloth. Dr. Haddon prescribed on another occasion a purging glister, a caphalick and a cordial electuary, oil of spirits and sweet almonds, a purging and a cordial bolus, purging pills, ursecatory, and oxymell. His charge for six visits after dark was a hogshead of tobacco weighing four hundred pounds.[4] In a case of cancer which Dr.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 109, 110. An instance of this in actual practice is preserved in the *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders July 4, 1687.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 103.

[3] Clayton's *Virginia*, p. 6, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 212, Va. State Library.

Napier of York in 1666 attended, he had recourse to copious bleeding and numerous cordials. The same physician, in a different disease, contented himself with administering almost exclusively a considerable number of the latter mixtures.[1]

The expenses attending the preparation for the grave and the burial of a corpse were probably more serious in the seventeenth century in proportion to the means of the people in that age than they are to-day. About 1650, the charge for a coffin was about one hundred pounds of tobacco;[2] in 1667, it was fifty pounds more, which was equivalent to one pound and a quarter sterling.[3] Thirty years subsequent to this, the coffin in which the remains of Thomas Jefferson, an ancestor of the celebrated statesman of the same name, were laid, cost twelve shillings and six pence, the larger part of which was represented in the charge for carpenter's work.[4] In several cases, the price was ten shillings.[5] The charge for a winding-sheet of holland was one hundred pounds of tobacco in 1652,[6] and in the same year the charge for making a grave was twenty pounds.[7] In 1696, it was thirty.[8] The assistance needed by the digger in filling in the grave increased the outlay on this account to ten shillings.[9] The funeral

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 169, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 78; *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 270, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 221.

[4] See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 212.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1702, p. 141; *Ibid.*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 568, Va. State Library; *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 171.

[6] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, 1651–1656, f. p. 78.

[7] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 266, Va. State Library.

[8] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 117, Va. State Library.

[9] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 471, Va. State Library.

sermon added very materially to the funeral expenses, the cost of this part of the ceremonies varying apparently at different periods; in two instances in York County in 1667, it was two pounds sterling,[1] and in 1690, it amounted to five pounds.[2]

The stones above the graves were often imported from abroad. Thus in 1657, Mrs. Sarah Yeardley in her will directed that after her death, her necklace and jewels were to be sent to England, and there sold, the proceeds to be used in the purchase among other things of two black tombstones to be conveyed to Virginia.[3] Mrs. John Page desired her grave might be covered with a brick tomb on which a polished black marble slab was to rest.[4]

The outlay which custom required to be made in food, but more especially in liquors, for the funeral was often very heavy. Sheep, poultry, hogs, and heifers, and even an ox, were not infrequently killed to satisfy the hunger of the friends of the deceased who attended, and who, with few exceptions, had been compelled to come a long distance, owing to the fact that the plantations were so widely separated. Spirits were dispensed in large quantities. At a funeral which took place in York in 1667, twenty-two gallons of cider, five gallons of brandy, twenty-four gallons of beer, and twelve pounds of sugar were consumed;[5] sixty gallons of cider, four gallons of rum, and thirty pounds of sugar were consumed by the company present at a funeral in Lower Norfolk in 1691.[6] The amount that was drunk was indeed only limited by the resources of the estate. Some testators gravely calcu-

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, pp. 217, 221, Va. State Library.
[2] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 11.
[3] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1656–1666, p. 117.
[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1702, p. 64, Va. State Library.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 221.
[6] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 171.

lated the quantity of liquor which would be needed at their own obsequies, and made provision in the minutest details for this part of the outlay. When Mr. John Bracegirdle, a factor of Captain Philip Foster of England, residing in Virginia, came to draw his will, he not only specified the sum of money to be expended in his burial, but also directed that the spirits to be drunk in commemoration of that event should be drawn from "the quarter cask of drams," which at that time was lying in his store.[1] The personal estate of Walter Barton amounted to fifty-four pounds and fifteen shillings; the cost of his funeral exceeded eight pounds.[2] The expense of Mr. William Vincent's funeral was equal to fifteen hogsheads of tobacco.[3]

In the early history of the Colony, legal steps were taken to afford to the people of each parish a public graveyard, and the church wardens were required to impale

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 549, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 171.

[3] *Ibid.*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 120. The following itemized statement was entered of record in proving the estate of John Griggs (*Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 87, Va. State Library.) It covered his funeral expenses:

Funeral sermon	200 lbs. tobacco.
For a briefe	400 " "
" 2 turkeys	80 " "
" coffin	150 " "
2 geese	80 " "
1 hog	100 " "
2 bushels of flour	90 " "
Dunghill fowle	100 " "
20 lbs. butter	100 " "
Sugar and spice	50 " "
Dressing the dinner	100 " "
6 gallon sider	60 " "
6 " rum	240 " "

and to keep it in decent order.[1] From the beginning, however, it was the custom of numerous persons to bury the deceased members of their families in the immediate vicinity of their homes. Abraham Piersey, the wealthiest citizen of Virginia of his time, was buried near his dwelling-house. So common did this habit become that in a memorial drawn up by the Bishop of London in 1677, he complained that the public places for burial were neglected, and that the dead among the planters were interred in their gardens.[2] The bodies of many were buried in the graveyards or in the chancels of the parish churches.[3]

It would be inferred from the inventories of that period that there was no vehicle in Virginia in the seventeenth century resembling a carriage, but from other sources it is learned that this means of locomotion was not unknown in the Colony. Such a vehicle seems to have been in the possession of a few very wealthy persons. William Fitzhugh owned what was known in that age as a calash, which had been imported from England; Governor Berkeley possessed a coach.[4] When the average planter

[1] Lawes and Orders, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 9; *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 93, Va. State Library.

[2] *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. III, p. 253; see also will of Richard Kemp, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 174.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 169, Va. State Library; see also *Records of Accomac County*, 1632–1640, p. 53, Va. State Library.

[4] Will of William Fitzhugh, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 276, refers to his "coaches." Hugh Jones, writing in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, said that "most females (in Virginia) had a coach, chariot, Berlin or chaise." *Present State of Virginia*, p. 32. See the reference to Lady Berkeley's coach in a letter of the English Commissioners, May 4, 1677, *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 81; *Winder Papers*, vol. II, p. 318, Va. State Library. Fitzhugh on one occasion ordered what he called a "Running chair," which probably resembled a modern sulky. See *Letters*, July 10, 1690.

attended the meetings of the county court, or went to church, or was present at the funerals of deceased friends, or visited the homes of his neighbors, he was compelled to rely upon his horse for conveyance, unless he was willing to travel in the ordinary farm cart:[1] the imperfections of the highways, and in some parts of the country the entire absence of passable roads, made the use of the horse almost a necessity in journeying from place to place. Among the most common entries in the appraisements of estates were the pillion and side-saddle, which were kept in readiness for the female members of the family. The equipments of the stables were complete. The saddle was often bound in hogskin.[2] A well-known planter of Elizabeth City County had in his possession, in 1690, one article of this kind covered with purple leather, and another made of plush in the seat.[3] Ralph Wormeley owned a crimson velvet saddle with broadcloth saddle-cloth and silk spring holsters, valued at fifteen pounds.[4] Hackney and troop saddles were in general use. The curb bridle was also common. There are frequent references to riding stockings. The horses were allowed to remain unshod, which caused no damage or inconvenience, as the roadbeds were for the most part level and sandy. The ordinary pace of the Virginian riders was a sharp hand gallop; this led to the expression, "a planter's pace," an indication of the energy with which they travelled, and the fleetness of their steeds.[5]

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, pp. 77, 453, Va. State Library; *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, pp. 429, 672, Va. State Library.

[2] See inventory of Robert Beverley, Sr., on file in Middlesex County.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 254, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 121.

[5] Clayton's *Virginia*, p. 35, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

When the public authorities had occasion to transmit a message or to send a packet, instructions were given to their agents to impress relay horses, and also men and boats in the performance of their orders. These agents in their accounts itemized the costs of the food and drink which they consumed in the course of their journeys.[1] About the middle of the century, the principal means of conveying public letters was to superscribe them with the line "for public service," and then to require the planters in turn to pass the envelope on to its destination under penalty of forfeiting a hogshead of tobacco in case of neglect.[2] In 1692, a royal patent was granted to Thomas Neale to establish post-offices in America for the transportation of private and public mails; and this patent was recognized by an Act of Assembly in 1692 to be operative in Virginia.[3] Neale was required by the terms of this Act to erect a post-office for the Colony at large, and a post-office for each county. Permission was given him to charge three pence per day for every letter which covered only one sheet of paper and which had to be carried a distance not in excess of four score English miles; and six pence when the letter covered a space of two sheets or less. When the number of letters was sufficient to form a packet, the charge for every one not exceeding two sheets was to be five pence, and if the packet con-

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 336, Va. State Library; Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. II, p. 250; *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1689–1699, p. 206, Va. State Library; *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 93, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 436. A letter of Sam'l Mathews, dated Aug. 24, 1659, written to Governor Fendall, took a month to reach its destination. *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 270.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 112. The Council, it seems, had proposed a post-office in 1689. *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 447. In 1692, Peter Heyman was appointed deputy postmaster. *Ibid.*, p. 455.

sisted of deeds, writs, and other bulky papers, the amount of postage was to be twelve pence an ounce. When the distance to be covered in the transmission was greater than four score English miles, the rate was four pence halfpenny for every letter not exceeding one sheet, and nine pence for every one exceeding one sheet but not exceeding two. When a number were made up in a packet, to be sent to a longer distance than four score miles, the charge for every one covering more than two sheets was to be four pence halfpenny. If the packet was composed of writs, deeds, and similar documents, the charge was to be eighteen pence an ounce. The privileges granted to Neale were not to interfere with the transmission of letters by private hands if the writers preferred this means of conveyance.[1]

[1] This project came to nothing. See Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 81.

CHAPTER XIV

RELATIVE VALUE OF ESTATES

ALL the different forms of property which were held by the Virginian planter in the seventeenth century have now been enumerated. They consisted, as has been seen, of land either inherited, purchased, or acquired by patent; of tobacco, Indian corn, and wheat; of horses, sheep, goats, hogs, and horned cattle; of agricultural implements, vehicles, and buildings; of white servants, both native and imported; of slaves born in the Colony or brought into it from Africa or the West Indies; of residences containing a large quantity of furniture, carpets, plate, and utensils; of clothing, both linen and woollen, coarse and fine; and lastly, of a great assortment of household supplies of foreign or domestic growth or manufacture. Fitzhugh described very accurately the condition of the planters, when he declared in a letter to his brother, towards the close of the century, that they were in possession of an abundance of everything except money, by which he meant coin. Where a very large proportion of the articles consumed or used by the family of the landowner were the products of his own soil, cultivated and gathered by his own laborers, there was but little need of a metallic medium of exchange as long as tobacco continued to have a value in the markets of the world so high as to induce shipowners and merchants to transport

their goods to the very doors of the Virginians to procure it.[1]

[1] The condition of William Fitzhugh was in all its main particulars doubtless fairly representative of that of every planter in the Colony who was in possession of an equal degree of wealth. In a letter to Dr. Ralph Smith, April 22, 1686, he thus describes it: "The plantation where I now live contains one thousand acres at least, seven hundred acres of which are a rich thicket, the remainder good hearty plantable land without any waste either by marshes or great swamps, the commodiousness, conveniency and pleasantness yourself knows, and upon it, there are three quarters well furnished with all necessary houses, grounds and fencing, together with a choice crew of negroes at each plantation, most of them this country born, the remainder as likely as most in Virginia, there being twenty-nine in all with stocks of cattle and hogs in each quarter. Upon the same land is my own dwelling house furnished with all accommodations for a comfortable and gentle living, with rooms in it, four of the best of them hung, nine of them plentifully furnished with all things necessary and convenient, and all houses for use furnished with brick chimneys, four good cellars, a dairy, dove cot, stable, barn, henhouse, kitchen and all other conveniences, and all in a manner new, a large orchard of about 2500 apple trees, most grafted, well fenced with a locust fence, which is as durable as most brick walls, a garden a hundred foot square well paled in, a yard wherein is most of the foresaid necessary houses pallisadoed in with locust puncheons, which is as good as if it were walled in, and more lasting than any of our bricks, together with a good stock of cattle, hogs, horses, mares, sheep, necessary servants belonging to it for the supply and support thereof. About a mile and a half distant a good water grist mill, whose tole I find sufficient to find my own family with wheat and Indian corn for our necessities and occasions. Up the river in this county, three tracts of land more, one of them contains 21,996 acres, another 500 and one other 1000 acres, all good, convenient and commodious seats and which in a few years will yield a considerable annual income. A stock of tobacco with the crops and good debts lying out of about 250,000 lbs., besides sufficient of almost all sorts of goods to supply the familys and the quarters occasion for two or three years. Thus I have given you some particulars, which I thus deduce the yearly crops of corn and tobacco together with the surplusage of meat more than will serve the family's use, will amount annually to 60,000 lbs. of tobacco, which at ten shillings per hundred weight is £300 per annum, and the negroes being all young and a considerable parcel of breeders, will keep the stock good forever. The stock of tobacco managed with an inland trade will yearly yield 60,000 lbs. of tobacco without

The accumulation of individual wealth in the Colony previous to 1650 was comparatively small. Sir John Harvey stated in 1639, that Virginia at this time consisted of very poor men. The largest estate as yet acquired was that of Abraham Piersey,[1] who had enjoyed as Cape Merchant a position of exceptional advantage for building up a fortune, but it is quite probable that, unlike Sir George Yeardley, who left property to the amount of six thousand pounds sterling,[2] a considerable proportion had been earned in England before his connection with Virginia began. About the middle of the century, there had been sufficient accumulations by individual planters to justify the author of *Leah and Rachel* in saying that many good estates were now obtained by immigrants simply by marriage with women born in the country, who had inherited their property from their parents, or from relations who were citizens of the Colony.[3] Lord Baltimore, speaking in 1667 of both Virginia and Maryland,

hazard or risk, which will be both clear without charge of housekeeping or disbursements for servants' clothing. The orchard in a few years will yield a large supply to plentiful housekeeping, or if better husbanded, yield at least 15,000 lbs. of tobacco annual income." *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 22, 1686.

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 6; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638-9*, p. 58.

[2] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. V, No. 15; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1629*, p. 196, Va. State Library. The executors of Yeardley declared that his estate was not worth one-half of this amount. According to John Pory, "the Governor here (that is Yeardley) who at his first coming, besides a great deal of worth in his person, brought only his sword with him, was at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his mere fittings here, able to disburse very near three thousand pounds to furnish him with the voyage." This letter of Pory will be found in part in Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 17. Mathews valued the estate of Piersey at £491. See *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VIII, No. 5, II; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1633*, p. 57, Va. State Library.

[3] Leah and Rachel, p. 17, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

said that within the same length of time, it was easier for persons residing in either to gain fortunes than it would have been in the mother country.[1]

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain a perfectly accurate idea of the value of the estates owned by the planters of Virginia in the seventeenth century. Only an approximate notion can be formed. As the volume of the personal property is set forth in the innumerable inventories preserved in the county records, this portion of the fortunes of that age is easily estimated. The real difficulty lies in our inability to obtain full information as to the extent of the landed interest held by individual planters, as this part of their estates was not like personalty listed for valuation.

It would be interesting to know what was the average amount of personal property brought over to Virginia by the great body of that class of settlers who immediately upon their arrival in the Colony took an independent position in the community in point of fortune. Reference has already been made to the articles of a varied character which Evelyn, Williams, and Bullock strongly recommended that every English emigrant who was in possession of means and proposed to open a plantation should carry over with him.[2] It is highly probable that the bulk of the assortments suggested by these writers were brought over by every man who entered Virginia with the intention of acquiring an interest more or less extensive in its soil. The agent who was in correspondence with Sir Edward Verney in 1634, respecting the course to be pursued on the removal of Sir Edward's son to the Colony, where he designed to establish himself as a planter, stated that the cost entailed in the purchase of goods and in the trans-

[1] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of Council*, vol. 1667–1688, p. 16.

[2] See closing pages of Chapter V, Agricultural Development, 1625–1650.

portation of the required number of servants would come to fifty-six pounds sterling.[1] This sum did not include the outlay in buying land. In 1690, Fitzhugh, writing to Oliver Luke in England, who had expressed an intention of placing his son in Virginia, advised him to deposit two hundred pounds sterling in the hands of a trustworthy merchant in London engaged in trade with the Colony, with instructions to buy a suitable plantation there. At the same time, an additional two hundred pounds sterling were to be used in purchasing slaves from the Royal African Company. All the live stock needed by young Luke could be obtained in Virginia.[2]

There are many evidences that a large number of the immigrants were sprung from English families of substance.[3] The instance of John Boys could not have been exceptional; just before he set out for the Colony in 1650, he drew up his will, dividing his valuable possessions among sixteen heirs.[4] There were many persons in Virginia who owned an interest in property in England.[5] In 1650, John Catlett and John Clayton of Gloucester County were in the enjoyment of estates in Kent. A few years later, John Clark of York County devised two houses which he owned in Essex, in one of which his father had long resided.[6] John Pen of Rappahannock, in 1676, willed landed property in England.[7] In 1688, John Smythe of

[1] *Verney Papers*, Camden Society Publications.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Aug. 15, 1690.

[3] The instances which follow are given only as examples. They form a very insignificant proportion of the whole number that might be mentioned.

[4] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1889, p. 153.

[5] There were, on the other hand, very many persons in England, besides merchants, who owned property in Virginia.

[6] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 78, Va. State Library.

[7] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1664–1673, p. 95, Va. State Library.

York ordered the sale of a farm which he possessed in the vicinity of Walton, with the view of investing the proceeds in a Virginian plantation.[1] Miles Cary owned two houses in Bristol.[2] John Page had an interest for a term of seven years in five tenements situated in the city of Westminster. In 1692, Benjamin Read devised landed property which he possessed in England.[3] Nicholas Spencer left a valuable estate in Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Essex.[4]

The inventories belonging to the period preceding 1650, upon which we have to rely to obtain a just conception of the size of the personal holdings in Virginia in that age, were comparatively few in number. The records of York alone throw any real light upon the point in inquiry. The largest estate in this county appraised by order of court previous to the middle of the century was that of William Stafford, which amounted to 30,681 pounds of tobacco in value, which, at the rate of two pence a pound,[5] was equal to £250, or in purchasing power perhaps to about six thousand dollars at the present day. The personal estate of Thomas Deacon follows next in size at an appraisement of 19,343 pounds

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 100, Va. State Library.

[2] General Court Orders, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 257.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, John Page, p. 132; Read, p. 257. James Blaise of Middlesex County owned an interest in a leasehold in Pall Mall, London. Original vol. 1698–1713, p. 49.

[4] *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1891, p. 67.

[5] It is impossible to follow the exact fluctuations in the price of tobacco from year to year. It maintained an average rate ranging from one and a half to two pence a pound. Fitzhugh, in the account of his property given in the first note to the present chapter, places the value at the time at which he was writing at ten shillings a hundred-weight, or one and one-fifth pence a pound. In the chapter on Agricultural Development, 1685–1700, I have given references which would seem to show that Fitzhugh's estimate was extremely conservative. In the present chapter, I adopt two pence as the average price, as being within the highest limit possible.

of tobacco, or £161. The personal estate of Francis Carter was inventoried at 13,728 pounds of tobacco, or about twenty-seven thousand pence.[1]

Passing to the period that followed the middle of the century, and still confining our attention to York, it is found that in the interval between 1657 and 1662, the largest personal estate appraised by order of court was that of Colonel Thomas Ludlow in 1659. It was valued at 118,598 pounds of tobacco, which at the rate of two pence a pound was equal to £988, or in purchasing power perhaps to about twenty-five thousand dollars in American currency. He owned in the form of sums due to him as debts, £449. The personal estate of Francis Wheeler, consisting principally of tobacco due him, was appraised at £1123 13*s*. 4*d*., from which a deduction of £379 10*s*. is to be made for his own obligations.[2] The remaining personal estates inventoried in York during the same interval in no case exceeded £500, and only in few instances rose as high as £140.[3] In the course of the eight years between 1664 and 1672, the largest personal estate appraised was that of John Hubbard; it was valued at £722, independently of a large amount due him in coin and tobacco.[4] The estates following next in point of size were those of Mathew Hubbard, Richard Holt, and James Moore. The personalty of neither exceeded £200. In the interval between 1672 and 1690, the largest personal estate brought before court was that of James Vaulx, which was valued at £642, equal in purchasing power perhaps to about fourteen thousand five

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, Stafford, p. 186; Deacon, p. 372; Carter, p. 376; Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1657–1662, Ludlow, p. 280; Wheeler, p. 300. It is difficult to discover the exact value of the Wheeler estate.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 64, 402.

Ibid., vol. 1664–1672, p. 324.

hundred dollars. This did not include the debts due him. The personalty of Jonathan Newell was appraised at £554; in addition, there was a very large sum due him in tobacco. The personal estate of Edward Phelps was valued at £455; of Mrs. Elizabeth Bushrod, at £355; of Robert Cobbs, at £235;[1] and of Francis Mathews, at £220.[2] The appraisement of the personalty of Major James Goodwyn amounted to £542, and of Mrs. Rowland Jones to £440.[3] The largest personal estates inventoried in York subsequent to 1690 were those of Mrs. Elizabeth Digges and Nathaniel Bacon, Sr. The first was valued at £1102; the second at £925, exclusive of live stock.[4]

Passing to the personal estates appraised by order of court in Rappahannock, it is found that the records of that county, which are unusually voluminous, show very few that were notable in size. The three largest were those of William Travers, George Jones, and William Fauntleroy. The personalty of Travers amounted to 285,861 pounds of tobacco, or about £2382, a sum perhaps equal in purchasing power to fifty thousand dollars in American currency; the personalty of George Jones, to 108,308 pounds of tobacco; and of William Fauntleroy, to 30,828 pounds of the same commodity. Valuing a pound at two pence, these latter quantities represented an appraisement of £902 and £252 respectively.[5]

The most important personal estates in Lower Norfolk county in the course of the interval between 1650 and

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, Vaulx, p. 390; Newell p. 142; Phelps, p. 175; Bushrod, p. 339; Va. State Library. The Phelps appraisement is exclusive of tobacco debts.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 130.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1687–1691, Goodwyn, p. 66; Jones, p. 381.

[4] *Ibid.*, Digges, vol. 1690–1694, p. 217; Bacon, vol. 1694–1697, p. 261.

[5] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, pp. 55, 74, 108. Large debts in tobacco were due both Jones and Fauntleroy.

1700 were those of Cornelius Lloyd, valued at 131,041 pounds of tobacco; of Henry Woodhouse, at 64,034 pounds; of William Moseley, at 69,270 pounds; of Adam Keeling, at 102,222 pounds; of John Okeham, at 27,984 pounds; of John Sibsey, at 68,313 pounds; of Lawrence Phillips, at 81,371 pounds; of Robert Hodges, at five hundred and ten pounds sterling; of William Porteus, at six hundred and sixty-six pounds sterling; of Lewis Conner, at five hundred and sixty-seven pounds sterling; and of John Machen, at two hundred and eighteen pounds sterling.[1]

In the interval between 1690 and 1700, the largest amount of personal property inventoried in Elizabeth City County in a single case was that of William Marshall. It was valued at £282. The personalty of Jacob Walker was appraised at £176.[2] One of the most important personal estates which came before court in Lancaster County in the same interval was that of John Carter, Sr., which was valued at £2250.[3] The personal estate of Robert Beckingham of the same county was appraised at 342,558 pounds of tobacco, or £2852, which represented perhaps as much as eighty thousand dollars in our American currency.[4] Beckingham was a merchant, and his whole property probably consisted of personalty. Smaller estates in Lancaster and Westmoreland to which reference may be made were those of David Myles, £320;[5]

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, Lloyd, f. p. 168; Sibsey, f. p. 55; Phillips, f. p. 148; original vol. 1686–1695, Woodhouse, f. p. 25; Porteus, f. p. 199; original vol. 1666–1675, Moseley, p. 107; Machen, p. 10; Okeham, p. 81; original vol. 1675–1686, Hodges, f. p. 117; original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 137.

[2] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, Marshall, p. 300; Walker, p. 490.

[3] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 236.

[4] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1674–1687, f. p. 36.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1674–1689, orders Feb. 8, 1674.

of John Washington, £377;[1] and of John Pritchard, £476. In addition, the personalty of the latter included in the form of debts due him £30 and 101,307 pounds of tobacco.[2]

The largest personalty appraised in Middlesex County by order of court was that of Robert Beverley;[3] it consisted of property amounting in value to £1531 4*s.* 10*d.* To this sum, there are to be added the debts due him in the form of tobacco, 331,469 pounds, and in the form of metallic money, £801. This would mean that Beverley was in the possession of a personal estate that would be equivalent to £5000 at least, or in modern figures perhaps to about one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, rating tobacco at two pence a pound.[4] The personal estate of Corbin Griffin was valued at £1131, and that of Robert Dudley at £548.[5]

The personal estates appraised in Henrico previous to the close of the century were comparatively small. The personalty owned by Francis Eppes, who combined the trade of a local merchant with the business of planting, was probably as large in volume as that of any citizen in this county; independently of the value of the contents of his store, which at the least added as much again, it amounted to £302.[6] The personalty of Thomas Osborne was inventoried at £208;[7] of William Glover, at 23,500

[1] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, April, 1893, p. 145.

[2] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 16.

[3] See his inventory on file among records of Middlesex County.

[4] At ten shillings the hundred-weight of tobacco, or 1½ pence a pound, the personalty of this estate would have been equal to £4537, or about $91,000 in modern values.

[5] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, Griffin, p. 136; Dudley, p. 99.

[6] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 93, Va. State Library.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 350.

pounds of tobacco;[1] and of John Davis, at 32,435 pound of the same commodity.[2]

It will be seen from the figures which have been give for the personal estates of the leading planters and mer chants in half a dozen of the wealthiest counties, that th average accumulation in this species of property was ver important for that age and for a newly settled country In a few cases, the accumulation was extraordinary. Un fortunately, the records of some of the oldest counties such, for instance, as those of Charles City and Warwick have been destroyed, which prevents us from obtainin any information as to the personal estates of planter like the elder William Byrd.

The largest proportion of the property held by citizen of Virginia in the seventeenth century was in the form c land. What was the extent of the area of soil owned b the leading planters? No accurate answer can be give to this question, because it is impossible to say how muc each one had inherited or acquired by purchase. Th land patent books afford us the only clear light as t the real estate in the possession of individual colonists Among the most important patentees in the early part c the century were George Menefie and Samuel Mathews. Menefie obtained grants for eight thousand four hundre and sixty acres, and Mathews for about nine thousand each one of these planters was probably in possession c about one-third more landed property acquired by pur chase or mortgage. John Carter, father and son, of Lan caster, sued out patents to eighteen thousand five hundre

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 284, Va. State Library

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 283.

[3] Adam Thoroughgood, Richard Kemp, and William Claiborne wer also patentees of large bodies of land, amounting in the aggregate to a enormous area.

and seventy acres; Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., to five thousand more or less; John Page, to seven thousand; Richard Lee, to twelve thousand; William Byrd, to fifteen thousand;[1] and finally Robert Beverley, to thirty-seven thousand. The names of a dozen additional colonists of almost equal prominence might be given who had acquired as great an area of soil by public grants, but the instances which have been mentioned are typical of their class.[2] It is probably not going too far to say that the average size of the landed property held by the members of this class was at least five thousand acres.

What was the value of an acre in Virginia in the seventeenth century? The basis which we have for an answer to this question is very insufficient. The records of York, between 1633 and 1700, have preserved forty-seven instances in which tracts of land in that county aggregating 8664 acres were sold, not for tobacco, the price of which was fluctuating, but for money sterling. The average value of an acre in these forty tracts was slightly in excess of half a pound sterling, the value of the whole being £3134. In Rappahannock, twenty-one tracts covering an area of 11,519 acres brought when sold £1604, or about one-seventh of a pound sterling an acre. In Elizabeth City, twelve tracts aggregating 2094 acres brought £431, or about one-quarter of a pound sterling an acre. In Henrico, twenty-five tracts aggregating 6734 acres brought £632, or about one-tenth of a pound sterling. It is not surprising to find that land in the older counties, like York and Elizabeth City, commanded a

[1] These different figures are merely approximate. It is not improbable that the planters named obtained by patents a larger area of soil than that stated in each case. These enumerations were made from entries in the land patent books.

[2] William Fitzhugh possessed over 50,000 acres. See his will, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 276.

higher price than in the more newly settled communities of Rappahannock and Henrico. It is probable from the figures given that one-fifth of a pound, or four shillings, in that age perhaps equal in purchasing power to five dollars in our modern currency, represented the average value of an acre on a plantation under cultivation.[1] It must be remembered that the estates of the seventeenth century were for the most part confined to the lowlands adjacent to the streams, which consisted of the most fertile loam. Reduce the four shillings to two in order to be very moderate and apply this standard of value to the real estate owned by Robert Beverley, and it is found that he held landed property to the value of £3700, which at modern rates would perhaps be equivalent to about £18,500 or ninety-two thousand five hundred dollars. To be still more moderate, reduce these figures one-half and it will be seen that the whole estate of Beverley, personal and real, amounted to one hundred and seventy-six thousand dollars at the least. It would be reasonably safe to say that it was equal in value to two hundred thousand dollars, perhaps to two hundred and fifty thousand.[2] When it is recalled that Virginia had only been settled for eighty years when Beverley died, the statement of Lord Baltimore, that fortunes were more easily acquired in this age in that Colony than in England, seems entirely consistent with the fact. The whole property of William Byrd, who made great additions to an inheritance already large, was

[1] That is, taking the cleared and uncleared land on such a plantation together. The average value of cleared land alone in good condition was perhaps twice as high as the figures given.

[2] I have reduced the value of the land held by Beverley to the very lowest point, because in a holding amounting to 37,000 acres, an enormous proportion must have been covered with forest, and was, therefore, of little practical worth beyond furnishing an almost boundless range for cattle.

perhaps more valuable than the estate of Robert Beverley.[1] There were fifty, probably one hundred, planters in Virginia at the close of the century whose property equalled if it did not exceed fifty thousand dollars.

Robert Beverley, the historian, declared that such was the geniality of the climate of Virginia and such the fertility of its soil, that no one there was so sunk in poverty as to be compelled to secure a living by beggary.[2] This statement was doubtless perfectly accurate for the time at which it was made, but it was not entirely true of a period fifty years earlier, when the accumulation of property was not as yet so great. There are several recorded instances in that age in which special licenses were granted to mendicants. Such a license was obtained by John Claxson of York County, whose only property had been destroyed by fire, and who had been left with a family of five children without means of support. It is probable that this professional beggar was physically disabled. Similar cases were those of Thomas Bagwell of the Isle of Wight, and Richard New of James City, both, like that of Claxson, occurring as early as 1653.[3] A general complaint arose in 1672, that the neglect into which the vagrant laws had fallen had led to an increase in the number of vagabonds, and a statute was passed in consequence looking not only to the suppression of all idlers, but also to setting the poor to work.[4]

[1] In the course of four years, William Byrd advanced out of his own pocket, £2955 9*s.* 8*d.* to cover deficiencies in the revenues of the Colony. At the time he was auditor-general of Virginia. See Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 58. The early records of the county in which the inventory of Byrd's personal estate was entered on record are not now in existence.

[2] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 223.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 381.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 298.

The records of levies disclose the frequency with which assessments were made for the benefit of persons who, from their physical disabilities, were incapable of earning a self-support. The sums of tobacco thus obtained were paid either to the paupers themselves directly, or to some one who had agreed to furnish the person who was the object of charity with food and clothing.[1] In 1668, the Assembly provided for the establishment in each county of a workhouse;[2] this act must have been enforced, for in 1678 the justices of the peace for Lower Norfolk County were indicted by the Grand Jury for neglecting to observe it.[3] The erection of workhouses was specially recommended to Lord Culpeper in the instructions which he received as Governor in 1679.[4] The form of relief generally requested by those who had become impoverished was exemption from the payment of county levies; this privilege was granted if the person seeking it was advanced in age,[5] or so lame or so blind as to be incapable of work,[6] or was burdened with a large family of children.[7]

There were in the course of the seventeenth century many instances in which valuable bequests were made for the benefit of the poor. In 1683, Robert Griggs of Lancaster left twenty thousand pounds of tobacco to the destitute of Christ Church Parish in that county, those who had large families to maintain to be preferred;[8] George

[1] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, Dec. 4, 1693, Jan. 4, 1685, Oct. 4, 1683.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 266. These workhouses were for children.

[3] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 40.

[4] From this, it would appear that the workhouses which had been in existence had fallen into disuse. It should, however, be remembered that the persons who drew up the Instructions to the Governors showed, in many cases, ignorance of the real condition of the Colony.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 416, Va. State Library.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 50. [7] *Ibid.*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 391.

[8] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1674–1687, p. 91.

Spencer of Lancaster, also, left by will ten thousand pounds of tobacco for the same purpose, the objects of his bounty, however, to be chosen from amongst the inhabitants of White Chapel Parish.[1] Corbin Griffin bequeathed fifteen pounds sterling to the poor of Richmond County, and ten pounds to persons in need in Middlesex.[2] John Linney devised his entire estate to the destitute inhabitants of Chiskiack in York. Richard Trotter, of the same county, left one thousand pounds of tobacco to the poor of Charles Parish, while Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., bequeathed twenty pounds sterling to the poor of Hampton Parish.[3] In 1698, Robert Scott willed the whole amount of the sums due him by different persons, in the form of tobacco or coin, to indigent persons in Isle of Wight County.[4] If reliance can be placed upon the statement of Beverley, there was little room for the exercise of charity by benevolent testators towards the close of the century; he declares that he was aware of one case in which a bequest for the benefit of the poor in one of the parishes in Virginia had remained untouched for nine years, because there was no one in the limits of the parish who came within the scope of the testator's intention.[5]

[1] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1694, f. p. 11.

[2] Will on file among records of Middlesex County.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1702, Linney, p. 10, Trotter, p. 194; Bacon, vol. 1690–1694, p. 154, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, p. 123.

[5] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 223.

CHAPTER XV

MANUFACTURED SUPPLIES: FOREIGN

I.

In preceding chapters I have referred in detail to different supplies which were needed for use or consu tion by people of all classes in the seventeenth cent Where and how were these supplies obtained? W not mere natural products, to what extent had they manufactured at home or abroad? The most com varieties of food were in most cases of the growt the soil of the Colony. We have seen that the s subsistence of the slave, the servant, and the master principally drawn from the plantation itself; the m the vegetables, the flour, the meal, and, in large meas the fermented liquors which were so freely indulgec were produced in Virginia. A considerable proportic the articles of food to be found on the tables of persor wealth was not secured from their own estates, but been imported from abroad. This was still more the with the innumerable articles which made up the ho hold goods of the individual planter, and, in a lesser gree, of the implements employed in tilling the gro Many of these articles were manufactured, as will be l after shown, in the Colony, but the greater number been brought in by local or foreign merchants, or by landowners at their own expense.

The importation of English merchandise into Virginia in the seventeenth century for the purpose of meeting the wants of its inhabitants had something more than a local significance. It was the beginning of that vast colonial trade which has performed so momentous a part in increasing the wealth of England, and giving her an undisputed supremacy among commercial nations. Almost from the foundation of the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia was an important dependence of the mother country, not only as a land to which those who desired to establish new homes could emigrate, but as a community which, as its population expanded, required an ever enlarging volume of artificial supplies. Its steady growth signified a proportionate advance in many branches of English manufacture. With the progress of time, the importance of all the Colonies as places where English goods could be disposed of at a profit, was more clearly recognized, and the benefit that would result to English trade from the exclusion of competition, foreign or domestic, from this field, was one of the principal influences which led to the passage of the Navigation laws, as well as to the prohibition of colonial manufacture on a large scale. As early as 1664, when the second Act of Navigation had been in operation only a few years, the merchandise imported into Virginia and Maryland was thought to be worth annually £200,000, a sum equal in purchasing power, perhaps, to four or five millions of dollars in our modern currency.[1] At the beginning of the Revolution, a hundred and twelve years later, the value of the goods shipped from England each year to her Colonies in North America was estimated at £2,732,036, a small amount in comparison with the value of the goods imported at the present time by the United States from the same country

[1] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of Council*, vol. 1636–1667, p. 504.

under a restrictive tariff, but in that age representing an enormous volume of trade.[1]

Previous to the issue of patents to associations of private adventurers in 1616, the cost of the transportation of supplies to the settlers in Virginia was borne entirely by the London Company or its members, to whom fell whatever profit was to be acquired from the sale of the commodities of the Colony. In the beginning, the expense was met by the Company alone, and from the fund which had been subscribed by the different adventurers who had united themselves under the letters patent obtained by Gates and his associates in 1606. How large was this fund and how great were the individual subscriptions, there are now no means of ascertaining. That the general amount was of notable proportions is to be inferred from the size of the first expedition, and the number of supplies following previous to the grant of the second charter in 1609. The same rule was adopted in the case of the London Company, when it was formed, as in the case of other organizations of similar character; the adventurer wrote opposite to his name the figures of such a sum as he was prepared to risk, and his profits were to be in proportion to it. Under the regulations laid down for the government of the Colony, the trade during the first five years was to be confined to three stocks at the most.[2] All supplies purchased with the money contributed were transported thither as the property of the subscribers as a body. The commodities to be obtained from Virginia, whether in exchange with the Indians or as the product of the industry of the settlers, were to be returned to England

[1] Report of a Committee of the Privy Council on the Trade of Great Britain with United States, 1791.

[2] Instructions for the Government of the Colonies, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 71.

for sale, and the proceeds divided among the adventurers in proportion to their shares. The power was given to the persons named in the charter of 1606, to arrest all who were found engaged in traffic with the inhabitants, and to detain them if they were English subjects until they had paid two and a half per cent of the goods in which they had been trading, and if they were citizens of foreign states, five per cent.[1] Supervision of the articles to be conveyed to the Colony was, by the formal provisions for its government, to be assumed by a committee to be constituted of not less than three members, who were instructed to reside in or near London, or at any other place preferred by the Company. A careful account was to be kept by this committee of the various kinds of merchandise which should be exported. During a period of seven years, goods to be used for apparel, food, or defence, or for the necessary objects of the plantation, transported from England to Virginia, were to be exempted from all manner of custom and subsidy. For the purpose of preventing an abuse of this valuable privilege by persons who had no real intention of sending the articles which they professed to be exporting thither, but who only wished to escape from the duties imposed upon those who had foreign destinations in view, it was provided that if any one should take advantage of this clause in the charter to evade the customs which they ought properly to pay, and after getting out to sea, direct their course to a land under foreign dominion, not only was the whole cargo to be forfeited, but the vessel in which it was conveyed was to be confiscated. The object of the charter was violated even if the commodities thus designed for an alien country had first been carried into Virginia in order to comply with

[1] Charter of 1606, § XIII, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 59–61.

the letter of the law. The goods exported from England by the Company were, as soon as they reached the Colony, to be stored in a magazine, from which they could be drawn for distribution only upon the warrant of the President and Council, or the Cape Merchant and two clerks who were in immediate charge of the goods. Of the latter trio of officers, the Cape Merchant, as his name discloses, was the chief. He was also the Treasurer of the Colony.[1] In the beginning, it was his duty merely to preserve and guard the contents of the magazine, whether imported from England or produced by the labors of the inhabitants. It was not until a modified right of holding private property was granted that he became an agent in exchanging the goods of the Company or of private adventurers, for the commodities owned by the settlers. Previous to this, he was virtually a mere supercargo. The Cape Merchant was elected to fill the position which he occupied only for twelve months, but he was permitted to be a candidate for reëlection, his reëlection resting with the President and Council. At the time he was chosen, two clerks were also selected, and they remained, like the Cape Merchant, in office for a period of one year, their position being attended by less responsibility. They also could be reëlected. It was the duty of one of the clerks to keep a book in which all the supplies distributed were to be entered, and he as well as his associate could be suspended or removed by the President and Council, or by a majority of the body which they formed.

In the orders in Council drawn up for the guidance of the persons in charge of the expedition of 1607, the preservation and the supervision of the different articles to be conveyed to Virginia was imposed upon Captain

[1] Instructions for the Government of the Colonies, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 72.

Newport, who was in command of the fleet.[1] The immediate care of these articles, however, fell upon the Cape Merchant. The first person to fill this position was Thomas Studley, who, upon the departure of the vessels which brought the voyagers to Jamestown Island, remained in charge of the storehouse, erected, in accord with an order in Council, by a party of men who had been specially detailed for the work.[2] Studley perished in the course of the first summer following the foundation of the Colony, and was succeeded by Smith. In the interval preceding the arrival of the First Supply, an event which took place in the winter of 1607, the goods imported in the spring had almost entirely disappeared. The oil and vinegar, sack and aquavitæ, had been consumed, with the exception of the few gallons reserved for religious services and for persons stricken with extreme illness.[3] Many other commodities had been allowed by Wingfield, the President, to be dispersed in bartering with the Indians, or in making gifts to them.[4] The First Supply reached Jamestown in January in the charge of Newport, and it consisted of a great variety of articles thought by the Company in England to be necessary for the protection or subsistence of the settlers. Included among the articles of food were biscuits, one of which was given to each workingman at breakfast.[5] Newport had been at Jamestown only a few days when a fire, which had its origin in the cargo so recently brought over, broke out, and proved very destructive, more especially to the victuals and clothing of individual colonists. The serious

[1] Orders in Council, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 76.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 82; Percy's *Discourse*, p. lxxii.
[3] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. lxxviii.
[4] A Discourse of Virginia, *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. lxxxi.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiii.

character of the loss in the matter of apparel is disclosed in a letter written at this time by Francis Perkins, to a friend in England, in which he urges that all cast-off garments in the possession of this friend, doublets, trousers, stockings, and caps, should be sent to him in Virginia to provide him with means of hiding his nakedness.[1] The fire would probably have consumed the whole of the Supply if a part had not been detained on board the vessel. A large quantity of beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, aquavitæ, beer, and oil, imported for the use of the settlers, was consumed by the sailors, who were permitted to remain at Jamestown with their commander nearly four months longer than at first was intended, merely in order that they might share in the profit of discovering ores of precious metals. When the ship sailed at last, Newport could spare only a small amount of biscuit, pork, fish, and oil, after having sold a large quantity of these articles of food to those persons among the colonists who were so fortunate as to have money or surplus clothing, furs, or rings, or who were able to give bills of exchange on England. At this time, the great mass of the settlers subsisted on bread and water. The *Phœnix*, which ought to have arrived in January in company with the vessel commanded by Newport, did not reach Virginia until the following April. The supplies contained in it were distributed among the colonists.[2]

The Company found great difficulty in securing the funds necessary to purchase and send out the Second Supply, which arrived at Jamestown in the autumn of 1608 in two ships.[3] A storehouse in anticipation of it

[1] Letter of Francis Perkins, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 176.

[2] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, pp. 103–105.

[3] Zuniga to Philip III, Spanish Archives, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 172.

had been erected for its accommodation. A private trade sprang up at once between the sailors and the colonists, and between the sailors and the Indians, the colonists acting as factors. A strong complaint was made that the articles which should have gone to the settlers without any charge, were thus disposed of to the private advantage of persons who belonged to the vessels. The hatchets, chisels, mattocks, and pickaxes, forming an important part of the Second Supply, were dispersed among the aborigines. Knives and pike-heads, shot and powder, disappeared into the same hands, a return being made through the secret agency of the colonists, in skins, baskets, and wild animals. One mariner alone is stated to have obtained by this means, furs which netted him thirty pounds sterling in England. The articles sold in an underhand way to the settlers by the sailors of the Second Supply were butter, cheese, beef, pork, biscuit, oatmeal, beer, and aquavitæ. There are indications that a large quantity of wheat was imported in this Supply. It had been deposited in casks as a protection, being intended for food, or, as seems most probable, for seed; this wheat in a few months had either rotted or been consumed by rats which had found their way into Virginia in the English vessels.[1] A part of the Second Supply was also made up of clothing; this was especially needed on account of the destruction of so much private apparel in the fire that broke out at Jamestown during the previous winter. Both in the First and Second Supplies there were doubtless consignments of garments to individual colonists from their relatives in England. In this way, George Percy received in 1608 from his brother, the Earl of Northumberland, articles of dress estimated to be worth about ten pounds sterling, perhaps

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, pp. 121, 127, 128, 155.

as much as two hundred and fifty dollars in American currency, a quantity which must have been considered very large even for a nobleman.[1] The urgent request which Perkins had made of members of the Cornwallis family with reference to discarded clothes was very probably complied with on the occasion of the Second Supply.

The great difficulty which the Company, according to the account of the Spanish ambassador in London at the time, had found in securing the means for the purchase of the goods in the Second Supply, had quite probably the chief influence in creating the demand for the second charter, which was finally granted in May, 1609. Under the provisions of this charter, the fifty-six city companies of London and six hundred and fifty or more persons united themselves into a corporation of private adventurers for the advancement of the plantation. Among them, were many men of very large and many of very small fortunes. About one-third paid into the general fund thirty-seven pounds and ten shillings or more apiece; another third paid individually less than this sum, while the remainder failed to make payments at all.[2] The city companies did not contribute simply as incorporated bodies. In the records of the Grocers' Company, there is a receipt showing that sixty-nine pounds sterling had been placed with the warden by members to be invested for their private benefit in bills of adventure in the Virginian undertaking. These sums appear to have been subscribed at regular meetings of the Company, each member being left to bind himself for whatever amount his own inclinations suggested. The names of those refusing to do so were carefully taken down. The Mercers' Company agreed to

[1] Memoranda (1607–1608) of Ninth Earl of Northumberland, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 178.

[2] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 228.

adventure two hundred pounds sterling. The Cloth-workers subscribed, as a body, one hundred marks, and the members seemed to have subscribed individually. The Fishmongers appear also to have been liberal in taking shares. In some instances, these trade associations not only contributed money, but also merchandise,[1] the different persons who constituted them being probably somewhat influenced by the prospect of selling to the London Company the goods in their special line of business needed for the supply of the Colony.[2] The first suggestion that each city company should take shares in the London was made in the form of a letter from the latter to the Lord Mayor, in which, in return for contributions, bills of adventure were promised to be drawn for the benefit of such as would subscribe. It was even proposed that the different wards should become shareholders. Upon the receipt of this letter, the Mayor sent out his precept to the master and warden of each company, requiring them to summon the members to meet with a view of making individual subscriptions.[3] The Council of Virginia at this time were content to seek assistance from the companies of London, but at a later period overtures were made to towns in other parts of the kingdom.

The strong inducements offered to obtain shareholders whose contributions would be expended in the purchase of supplies for the Colony are set forth in the contemporaneous pamphlet, *Nova Britannia*. It was fully antici-

[1] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 252, 257, 258, 280, 389.

[2] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 929: "Most of the tradesmen in London that would adventure but 12£ 10 sh.," wrote Smith, "had the furnishing the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade; such juggling there was betwixt them and such intruding Committees, their associates, that all the trash they could get in London was sent us in Virginia."

[3] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 252, 254.

pated by its author, in which opinion he was not alone, that it would be necessary to make but two more consignments of articles to Virginia, the returns from which were expected to be so large that not only would there be an ample fund for the purchase of the Third Supply, but there would be a surplus to be reserved for the shareholders. To assure a profit upon all the merchandise to be thereafter sent over, the right was to be enjoyed by the Company of holding a monopoly of the commodities of the Colony for a period of seven years from the date of the second charter. No division was to be made of the gain to be derived during this period from the labor of the settlers or by trade with the Indians until the seven years had expired, at which time it was anticipated that the capital to be distributed among the shareholders would be very large; the amount to be received by each one was to be further increased by the division of land to take place at the close of the same period, each shareholder being entitled to an area of soil in proportion to the amount of his stock. The distribution of the common property in money and land was to be made in 1616.[1]

The terms of the charter of 1609 differed in some respects from those of the charter of 1606 with reference to trade. The exemption from subsidies and customs and all forms of taxation was extended from seven to twenty-one years. The duty to be paid by English subjects, not members of the Company, who imported goods into Virginia, was increased from two and a half per cent to five, and in case of aliens, from five per cent to ten. The privilege of exporting supplies to the Colony untaxed was not curtailed in its practical enjoyment. In the month in which the charter of 1609 received the final seal of the King, a general order was issued by the Earl of Salisbury,

[1] Nova Britannia, pp. 23–25, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I.

addressed to the officers who had charge of the customs, in which they were instructed to permit every commodity designed for Virginia to leave their ports free from all imposition;[1] this was intended to have direct application to the fleet making ready to sail for Virginia under the conduct of Sir Thomas Gates and now lying in the harbor of Plymouth. The eight ships and the pinnace constituting the fleet carried over the Third Supply to the Colony, which differed from the two preceding it only in quantity, being made up principally of food and apparel purchased with the funds contributed by the personal and corporate members of the Company in the manner already described. The flag-ship, in which one-fourth of the persons employed in the fleet and the greater part of the provisions were to be transported, was separated from the other vessels by a hurricane and finally wrecked upon the islands of Bermuda. The remainder arrived in Virginia safely. Previous to this event, Captain Argoll had reached the Colony on a fishing expedition, having in his ship a large supply of wine and biscuit designed for private trade; the necessities of the people at Jamestown being very urgent at this time, the provisions had been seized and consumed.[2] The supply brought in by the fleet was very small. After the departure of the vessels in the following October, although the maize planted by Smith had been recently gathered,[3] there intervened the frightful Starving Time, in which the greater number of the colonists perished. Somers and Gates, who had contrived means of escape from the Bermudas, reached Virginia in May, and finding the settlers plunged into the deepest misery, which they were unable to relieve with their insignificant cargo of provisions,

[1] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 307.
[2] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 159.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 170.

embarked the whole number on board of their vessel and dropped down the river on their way to Newfoundland, but were met, before they had reached the Capes, by Lord Delaware in a fleet of three ships.

It had been intended, after the departure from England of Sir Thomas Gates in the spring of 1609, to dispatch Lord Delaware to Virginia in the following August with ten vessels, and for the purpose of raising the funds required to purchase this additional supply, various expedients were used. Among the other steps taken, Captain Thomas Holcroft was authorized to visit the United Provinces in order to interest the English subjects residing in that country in the enterprise, to the extent of adventuring in it their persons or their means. All who should contribute to the supply to be sent in charge of Delaware were to receive the liberties and privileges of the Company in the same degree as if they had belonged to that body from its beginning. Upon them also were to be conferred, in proportion to the amount of their subscriptions, shares in the lands of Virginia and in the accumulated capital of the corporation, when the first division of both took place in 1616, previous to a general distribution among the members. The right to enter into private commercial relations with the colonists after 1616 was granted to each person contributing to the funds of the Company, who should desire to trade in the expectation that it would be profitable.[1]

The return to England in the autumn of 1609 of what remained of the fleet which had set out in the spring of the same year under such favorable auspices, had, on account of the discouraging reports brought over, the effect of diminishing interest in the enterprise, on the part of those who, if the issue had been more fortunate, would

[1] Instructions to Holcroft, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 317, 318.

have contributed liberally to its support. Ratcliffe, in his letter to Salisbury, sent to England at this time, recommended that provisions for one year should be forwarded to Virginia, but it had now become difficult to secure the means for the purchase of supplies. The managers of the Company nevertheless were not to be daunted by the calamities of the expedition under Gates, upon which so many hopes had been founded; barely a fortnight after the vessels that had gone out in this expedition reached England, they issued the *True and Sincere Declaration*, in which a powerful appeal was made to every instinct of the English people, religious, political, and material, to induce them to contribute to the advancement of the enterprise, in spite of the repeated disasters that had overtaken it.[1] This appeal was followed up doubtless by still more active and direct measures for securing the necessary funds. It proved highly effective. In April, 1610, Delaware sailed from England to Virginia with a fleet of three vessels, laden with cargoes purchased in a measure by his own contributions to the treasury of the Company. The additional money required had been adventured by other shareholders. As soon as Delaware had reëstablished the Colony at Jamestown, he ordered Gates to proceed to England to obtain the articles for which provision had at the time of his own departure from the mother country been made, at least in part.[2] It was during this visit that Gates was summoned before the Council in London and questioned as to the advisability of abandoning the enterprise, the Council being very much discouraged by his failure to bring with him, on his return, commodities, by

[1] True and Sincere Declaration, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 339.

[2] Zuniga to Philip III, Spanish Archives, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 386.

the sale of which, the expense of the supplies to be sent to Virginia could be met.[1] Among those who had contributed to the fund covering the charges for these supplies, were probably several of the city companies, subscribing in the persons of their members, and, in some instances, as incorporated bodies. The Grocers' Company adventured one hundred pounds sterling. The Mercers positively refused to contribute further for the advancement of the Plantation, and in this course they were doubtless followed by other corporations to which similar appeals had been made.[2] In December, 1610, the ship *Hercules* sailed to Virginia with a cargo of supplies, and a few weeks later was followed by Sir Thomas Dale with a fleet of three vessels, containing a great abundance of victuals and furniture. In the following spring, Sir Thomas Gates set out for Jamestown in command of three ships and three caravels, with an equal quantity of provisions of all kinds for the colonists.

The funds with which the supplies forwarded to Virginia in the care of Gates had been purchased were procured in large part by circular letters addressed to private persons and city companies. Towns were invited to subscribe in their corporate capacity as well as in the name of particular citizens, the hope being confidently extended that the enterprise would now have great success. It was proposed to send to Virginia, in the course of the following two years, three cargoes valued at thirty thousand pounds sterling; of this amount, eighteen thousand had been raised previous to February, 1611, and it was expected to secure the remainder from the gentry, merchants, and cities of the kingdom. Of the subscriptions made by private persons, not one was less than

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 504.

[2] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 389, 391, 442.

thirty-seven pounds and ten shillings; in some cases, they ran to a figure as high as one hundred and seventy-five pounds. Noblemen and the companies of London subscribed five thousand of the eighteen thousand pounds sterling collected.[1]

During the time that Gates and Dale were in control in Virginia, the martial laws, drawn from the military administration of the Low Countries, were in operation, and were particularly effective in ensuring the preservation of the imported supplies. These supplies appear to have been still in the keeping of a Cape Merchant. Among those who were named by Lord Delaware as having been appointed by himself in the previous year to positions under him, no Cape Merchant is mentioned, although the clerks who were required to be associated with him are referred to.[2] By the martial laws, the fullest regulations were established for the guidance of such an officer, and for his punishment in case he misappropriated the stores placed under his charge;[3] if he embezzled, sold, or gave away any article belonging to these stores, or made out a false account when he presented his report to the Governor, he rendered himself liable to the penalty of death. If any private person carried off the victuals or arms, linen or woollen clothing, hose or shoes, hats or caps, instruments or tools in the care of the Cape Merchant, he exposed himself to the same extreme punishment. That this was not a provision designed *in terrorem* simply, is revealed in the fact that

[1] Circular Letter of the Virginia Council, Lists of Subscribers, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 463–469.

[2] Council in Virginia to the Virginia Company, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 408. Two clerks, Daniel Tucker and Robert Wild, were appointed by Delaware on his arrival in the Colony.

[3] Lawes, Divine, Morall and Martiall, p. 13, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

on one occasion a colonist who had committed a robbery upon the store was bound to a tree and suffered to perish by starvation.[1] Culprits of this kind, it is probable, were usually hung, the harshness in this special case being doubtless exemplary. In order to put an end to the serious evils resulting from the unlicensed trading between the sailors on the ships arriving in the James River, and the colonists on shore, the seamen bartering cheese and biscuit, meal, bacon, oil, butter, spice, and aquavitæ for the clothing, furniture, instruments, tools, and implements of the settlers, it was provided that all mariners who made this exchange should not only be deprived of the goods thus obtained and forfeit the entire amount of their wages, but should also be publicly whipped according to the verdict of the court-martial which should find the charge to be true. If the exchange had been at an unconscionable price, advantage being taken of the necessities of the inhabitants, death was to be the punishment. Proclamations setting forth the legal rates in the sale of all commodities were attached to the masts of every vessel that arrived, and this was to be taken as sufficient notice of the consequences of an extreme violation of the law, but it was, at the same time, no justification for buying without authority the articles specified, even at approved valuations.[2] In spite of the more careful administration enforced by Gates and Dale, there appears to have been at times a great lack of necessary supplies. Molina, writing in 1613, after a detention of two years in Virginia, refers to the wretched clothing of the colonists. He describes his own dress as being

[1] Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 74.

[2] Lawes, Divine, Morall and Martiall, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

in a state of such raggedness as to leave him virtually naked.[1]

In 1612, the third charter was granted; in this the names of many additional adventures were inserted, the greater proportion of whom belonged to the gentry. The largest amount subscribed in any individual case was thirty-seven pounds and ten shillings sterling. Under the terms of this charter, the goods exported from England for use in Virginia were exempted from all duties for a period of seven years. A much more important clause authorized the officers of the Company to establish one or more lotteries to be held during twelve months, unless it was the pleasure of the King that they should continue for a longer time. At least six months' warning was to be allowed after the expiration of the year. The right to hold lotteries was granted without regard to any special city, and such prizes and conditions were to be prescribed as seemed advisable to the members. The Company was empowered to name the persons who were to take charge of the drawings, and no interference with the performance of the duties assigned to them was to be attempted by any public officer or private individual.[2] The bestowal of the right to hold lotteries is an indication of the great difficulty found, after the various discouragements which had occurred, in raising funds by subscription in order to send supplies to Virginia. It was accepted at the time as an evidence of the loss of faith in the profitable character of the enterprise.[3] Whether those in charge of the affairs of the Company looked at it in this light or not, they proceeded with great promptness and energy

[1] Molina to Velasco, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 651.

[2] Third Charter, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 552, 553.

[3] Digby to Carleton, May 22, 1613, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 634.

in turning to account this new means of procuring money for the purpose they had in view. Books containing instructions were sent to the mayors of the different cities of England, with the request that they would urge the scheme upon the attention of their townsmen. Other books were prepared and stamped with the general seal, in which all who desired to invest in the lottery entered their names, with such sums attached as they should decide to risk. Lots were purchased not only by individuals, but also by churches and corporations. The first drawing began in June, 1612, and ended by the 20th of July, five thousand pounds sterling being distributed in prizes. From this lottery, the Company obtained sixty thousand ducats, for the purchase of supplies. A small standing lottery for the same purpose was erected in the winter of 1613, the announcement being made that it was no longer necessary to send victuals to Virginia, and that the goods to be shipped thither were to be restricted to clothing.[1]

So far, not less than forty-six thousand pounds sterling, obtained by private contributions or from lotteries, had been expended for the advancement of the Plantation. The Company now determined, as a means of increasing their funds, to bring suit in Chancery against all the adventurers who were derelict in turning over the full amount of their subscriptions; a bill was drawn and presented in April, 1613, in which it was stated that on many occasions when the treasury was empty, the Company had been compelled to raise money by pledging its credit in the expectation that the amount would be refunded by the payment of the claims against those members who had refused to deliver the sums for which they

[1] For these various details, see documents published in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 555, 560, 561, 570, 572, 575, 591, 608.

were bound over their signatures, or who had deferred doing so for an indefinite period. The delinquents included many very prominent persons. The suit against them was successful, about four thousand pounds sterling being thus secured.[1] In October, the ship *Elizabeth* left England for Virginia with provisions of different kinds, purchased, not improbably, with this sum. In the spring of 1614, a tract showing the condition of the Colony and setting forth the plan of a great lottery was issued, copies of which, accompanied by a letter from the Privy Council, were sent to all the city companies in London;[2] a strong appeal was made in this letter to induce their members to adventure in the proposed scheme. The need of some means of raising money was now so great that a proposition to yield up its patent was seriously entertained by the Company. With a view to obtaining the support of the state, a petition was presented to Parliament, but like all the measures of the same session, did not come to a final decision.[3] The response of the various city companies to the appeal of the Privy Council was so successful, that in February, 1615, a second letter was dispatched to the different cities and towns of the kingdom.[4] A Declaration was now issued by the London Company in which it was announced that the present standing lottery would be the last erected for the benefit of the Plantation. Special inducements were offered to all who would take lots amounting to twelve pounds, ten shillings or more; to such persons, provided they would

[1] Brooke to Ellesmere, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 630; Chamberlain to Carleton, *Ibid.*, p. 655.

[2] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 685.

[3] Extract from Commons' Journal, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 689. *Ibid.*, pp. 692, 696.

[4] Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 199.

remit any prize which they might win, bills of adventure would be given, entitling them to a proportionate share in the lands of the Colony when distributed, and in the profit of the capital to be divided. Members of the London Company who had failed to pay their subscriptions in full, were to be entirely exempted if they risked double the value of the shares in which they were delinquent; a failure to claim their prizes conferred on them a right to additional bills of adventure for the entire amount which they had expended in the lottery.[1] With a view to securing at the earliest date a sum of money to enable the Company to send supplies to the Colony, all persons who paid three pounds sterling into the lottery were to receive a silver spoon, valued at six shillings and eight pence, or that amount in coin was to be returned to them without diminishing the sum they had ventured. The lottery was drawn in November, 1615. The extent to which the city companies of London and its citizens as well as the people of the other towns took lots must have been considerable, though it probably fell short of the hope that had been entertained.[2] In the meanwhile, the Company had not failed to send out supplies to Virginia. In the Declaration issued in February, 1615, it was stated that this body had very lately dispatched two instalments of men and provisions, including also clothing.[3] Argoll had captured in his expedition to Port Royal a large quantity of various articles which were of great service to the Colony.[4]

[1] A Declaration for the Lottery, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 763.

[2] See extracts from records of Dover and Wycombe, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 768, 769.

[3] A Declaration for the Lottery, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 762.

[4] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 517.

In 1616, the period of seven years during which the stock of the Company to be accumulated by a monopoly of the trade of the Colony was to remain undivided, drew to a close. The returns from the enterprise had been so small,[1] that the profits, which were to be allowed to grow, were never realized; those who had adventured their money in supporting it, found their recompense only in the distribution of lands, conveyed in successive dividends as the country was cleared of forest. In this subdivision, all persons shared in proportion to their bills of adventure, whether they had invested many years before or but recently.[2] When the period of seven years ended in 1616, the Company was compelled, owing to the lack of funds in its treasury, to adopt a new method for furnishing the colonists with the different articles which they were forced to import to meet their necessities. There was erected what was described as the "Society of Particular Adventurers for Traffic with the People of Virginia in Joint Stock." Instead of the supplies being forwarded in the name of the Company, they were now sent in the name of the Magazine; to which the members could contribute such sums as they were willing to venture in their individual capacity. It was practically an association of private persons, among whom were divided the returns in proportion to the amounts which they risked. The general Company was not prevented from investing the common funds in the Magazine; if it did so, it shared in the profits and losses like an ordinary adventurer.[3]

[1] Extract from the Trade's Increase, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 766.

[2] A Briefe Declaration, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 778, 779.

[3] Orders and Constitutions, 1619–1620, pp. 23, 24, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

The affairs of the Magazine were administered by a director, who was assisted by a committee of five councillors; it was so far subject to the supervision of the Company, that its accounts were required to be passed upon by auditors specially nominated at a Quarter Court. The adventurers, however, held separate meetings, at which all routine business was transacted.[1]

No outside trader at this time could send supplies to the Colony, the regulation being as strict after the adoption of the new joint stock as it was previous to 1616.[2] Doubtless, however, the general rule was modified now, as it was under the Orders and Constitutions of 1619, which permitted any one, whether connected with the Company or not, to import cattle, grain, and munition into Virginia if the members of that body, when requested by the Quarter Court, declined or failed to subscribe to the Magazine.[3] The vessels which before this year had carried supplies to the Colony, had also brought in a large number of persons who proposed to reside in Virginia. The ship now conveying the articles purchased by the adventurers who entered into the joint stock, was known as the magazine ship, and its loading was confined to goods and

[1] *Collingwood MS. Records of London Company*, in Congressional Library, vol. I, pp. 22, 50. The first director was Alderman Johnson, who showed at this time the unscrupulous qualities which at a later period distinguished him so conspicuously as a member of the Warwick faction. In 1619, he was charged with diverting to the Magazine, funds which belonged to the Company. This had been done by him first in 1617, the sum being £341 13*s.* 4*d.*, and afterwards in 1618, when he appropriated for the Magazine the money obtained from the sale of the tobacco produced in the common garden. See *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[2] A broadside, issued in 1616–17, gave permission to persons in England to send private supplies to their friends in Virginia. Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 798.

[3] Orders and Constitutions of 1619, p. 23, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

to the few men who were appointed to take charge of them both before and after their arrival at Jamestown. The first magazine ship was the *Susan*, a vessel of small size. Its cargo was restricted to clothing, of which the Colony at all times stood in great need, apparel being only procurable from England.[1] The goods in the *Susan* were placed in the care of Abraham Piersey as Cape Merchant, both during the voyage and after Virginia was reached. The Cape Merchant who came over in the magazine ship was not simply a supercargo; he was also the factor of the subscribers to the joint stock, who relied upon his integrity and faithfulness in exchanging the articles they sent over, at the rates agreed upon beforehand. At this time, the only commodities produced in the Colony which assured a profit when sold in England were tobacco and sassafras; for them alone the contents of the magazine ship were exchanged, and for that reason, the members of the joint stock sought to confine their monopoly in the trade of Virginia only to these products. Piersey returned to England in the *Susan*, but in the following year he came back in the *George*, the second magazine ship of which he had charge in the capacity of Cape Merchant.[2] The cargo of this vessel was probably not larger than that of the *Susan*, but it was delayed five months in the outward voyage, which caused the articles brought over in it to arrive in bad condition.[3]

[1] Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 77.

[2] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 19.

[3] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 536. The following "Reasons touching the most convenient time and season of ye year for ye magazine ship to set forth from England towards Virginia," are taken from Records of Jno. Rolfe, secretary and receiver-general, Register Book, No. 41, in the manuscript, Ch. 23, No. 221, now preserved in the library of the Supreme Court at Washington, which formed a part of Mr. Jefferson's

Piersey, as soon as he reached Virginia, delivered to Argoll, who at that time was at the head of affairs in the Colony, letters with which he had been entrusted, placing his authority in disposing of the goods of the Magazine upon the same footing as that of the Governor.[1] This excited the warm indignation of Argoll, who now proceeded to treat with contempt the command of the Company in England, that the tobacco and sassafras should be reserved to be exchanged for the merchandise imported in the magazine ship. In spite of the severe laws introduced by Gates and Dale, condemning with the utmost severity all bartering between the captains and mariners of vessels and the settlers, Argoll permitted the former, as well as the passengers in their ships, to buy up all the tobacco and sassafras that they could obtain, thus seriously diminishing if not dissipating the supply upon which the Cape Merchant had depended for the profitable disposition of

library, purchased by Congress; they are also in *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 139, Virginia Historical Society Manuscript Collections. "1. To "be here (Virginia) in September, start in June, at which time corn "and tobacco are harvested. 2. After September, goods can be landed "or shipt without great hazard. 3. Because there being few tailors, "people will not be able to get their clothes in time for winter. 4. You "(that is, the Company) will then have the best tobacco. 5. Your "ships will get home by Candlemas, before the East India ships set "out, which will help ye speedy venting of your tobacco. 6. If the "ships fail to arrive before March, our seed time, we cannot afford to "attend to the Magazine. 7. For want of boats, it will be fourteen days' "loss to a man in transportation of goods, in which time he may lose all "his corn and tobacco. 8. If your ships return after April, the heat of "the hole will hurt the tobacco. 9. Furnish the Magazine with more than "is needed in the present and let a continual trade be on foot, and then "at the arrival of your shipping, you will have a cargo of commodities "ready, which will be soon despatched. 10. If you grant more commis-"sions for general trade, as you have to Captain Martin, (of Martin's "Hundred, which enjoyed special privileges and immunities) you will "overthrow the Magazine."

[1] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 140.

the goods in the Magazine. Moreover, the free trade inaugurated by the Governor destroyed all uniformity in the rates of purchase, upon which the adventurers in the joint stock had relied for their margin of gain.[1] Argoll was undoubtedly influenced in this independent course by a spirit of the grossest selfishness. His general career as Executive was in keeping with this open violation of the orders which he had received from his superior officers in England. It is, however, an open question as to what extent a conscientious person in his position might have thought that a free exchange of the products of Virginia for the merchandise of any trader who might come forward to barter, was more promotive of the best interests of the inhabitants, even at this early period, than the monopoly enjoyed by the adventurers of the Magazine, who had the countenance and the aid of the Company itself. There was no difference of opinion as to Argoll's action among the great body of the members, those not immediately interested in the Magazine holding the same views as those who were. The Magazine, they declared with great earnestness, was the prop of the Plantation and the life of the adventurers. To destroy the profit expected of it by allowing an absolute free commerce was to deprive the Colony, still in a state of infancy, of an annual supply which could be relied on with the fullest confidence. No adventurers would be willing to send out a cargo of goods without assurance of a market, or at best with the prospect only of sales at very low rates. The collapse of the joint stock would inevitably inflict injury upon the people, even though it should give encouragement to persons who desired to trade in Virginia on their own private account.[2]

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, pp. 31, 32.

[2] *Ibid.*

There are indications that the monopoly the Company sought to enforce in tobacco and sassafras would, if it had been put into the strictest operation, have excluded all independent traffic. In 1618, a petition was offered to Lord Zouch as the warden of the Cinque Ports, in which permission was sought by Captain Andrews of the *Silver Falcon*, who was associated with a Dutch merchant, to make a trading voyage to America. Among the objects to be secured were the erection of a plantation for the production of tobacco and grain, the purchase of furs from the Indians, and the barter of fish caught on the coast of Canada for the commodities to be obtained in Virginia. The great evils to be expected, according to the statement of the promoters of the enterprise, were that the "monopolists" of that Colony would break up any settlement the petitioners established, by removing the people, or would prohibit all trade between them and the Virginians, or if they did not do this, would at any rate except tobacco and sassafras from the list of articles to be exchanged, in which case, all the rest might as well be denied.[1] As a means of conciliating the Company, they proposed that if the result of the voyage was highly profitable, they should contribute in proportion to their gains to meeting the regular charges upon that body in supporting the plantation. Zouch granted the warrant sought, the vessel being described as his own.[2]

The magazine ship, the *George* was followed in the course of the year of its arrival by two other vessels, which had been dispatched by the same combination of private

[1] Project of the voyage of the *Silver Falcon*, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. I, No. 38; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1618*, p. 236, Va. State Library.

[2] Warrant from Zouch as warden of the Cinque Ports, *British State Papers, Colonial; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1618*, p. 8, Va. State Library.

adventurers contributing in joint stock under the auspices of the Company. The *William and Thomas*, the last of these two vessels to reach Virginia, which was in January, 1618, was accompanied by the *Gift*, a ship sent to the Colony by the Society of Martin's Hundred, one of the private associations to which a large grant of land had been made when the year came around for the first declaration of a dividend.[1] This vessel brought over supplies intended for the Hundred only. The supplies imported in the *William and Thomas* seem to have been exchanged for tobacco in spite of the presence of Argoll and the ruin which his policy had caused, for it returned to England in July, 1619, having on board a cargo of twenty thousand pounds. A large sum in the shape of bills of exchange upon the Company was also brought back, apparently indicating that the Magazine had fallen short in quantity of goods, of the demand in the Colony, so that the Cape Merchant was forced to pay in this form for a part of the tobacco bought. Abraham Piersey did not return to England in the magazine ship, but instead wrote a letter in which he recommended that thereafter he should be permitted to sell the articles forwarded to him as Cape Merchant at such rates as he could secure, without regard to any price fixed upon by the adventurers of the joint stock. He also complained that much of the merchandise sent him was not suited to the character of the trade in Virginia.[2]

[1] Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 78.

[2] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, pp. 12, 13. The Cape Merchant had difficulty in collecting some of the debts due the Magazine, owing to the perversity of Captain Martin. "Mr. Piersey, the Cape Merchant, taking notice of Captain Martin's denial of protecting any within his territory from arrest for debt, affirmed that having delivered divers warrants to the provost marshal of James City

The suggestion of Piersey as to abolishing all fixed prices in bartering goods for tobacco did not receive the approval of the Company. Among the instructions laid down for the guidance of the first Assembly convening in the Colony, was one that required the members to pass a law establishing the rate of exchange at three shillings a pound for the highest grade of tobacco, and eighteen pence for the lowest. The Cape Merchant was ordered by the Assembly to appear before it and to consent to the adoption of this regulation, which he declined to do until a distinct command had been given him to that effect, to serve as an acquittance in case the intention of the Company had not been clearly understood. He was limited to a gain of twenty-five per cent in the hundred on the original cost of the goods. In paying for tobacco offered him for sale, he was required to settle in bills of exchange if this should be desired by the owner, which was not unlikely, as he might wish to remit money to debtors or friends in England. In the mother country only were such bills to be made payable.[1]

Precautions were taken to prevent fraud on the part of the Cape Merchant in exchanging goods for Virginian commodities. In making payment, he was instructed to draw up two invoices, one of which was to be retained by himself and the other to be presented to the Governor for safe-keeping. If a dispute were to arise, there would be at least one voucher to show the character of the original transaction. Under special circumstances, the law passed

in Virginia, to be served on men that were indebted, living loosely within Captain Martin's plantation, the provost marshall told him that the said Captain Martin resisted the officer, and drew arms upon and would not suffer him to execute the said Warrants." *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, pp. 187, 188.

[1] For these and following details, see Lawes of Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, pp. 22–24.

by the Assembly exempted the planter from the operation of the rule constraining him to dispose of his tobacco to the Magazine. If the supplies contained in the Magazine did not include some article recognized as a necessary of life, such an article might be bought from any one who offered it for sale, but the purchaser was required in doing so to pay at the rate laid down for the same in all cases in which the Cape Merchant was the seller. In such purchases the consent of the Governor had first to be secured. The commodities produced in the boundaries of the land owned by private associations and known as Hundreds, were not brought to the Cape Merchant for exchange, the adventurers interested in the Hundreds enjoying the right to dispose of these commodities to their own profit, since this privilege had been granted to them under the provisions of their patents. They were, however, subject to certain important conditions. The commodities must have been produced in the limits of their jurisdiction and not obtained by trading with the planters who occupied lands which were the property of the Company. Furthermore, if upon the termination of a joint stock, a quantity of goods remained in the Magazine unsold, these goods were to be exhausted by purchasers residing in the Hundreds before the adventurers of the Hundreds could furnish them with supplies of the same character.

In 1619, a list of standing orders and laws, drawn from the letters patent of the King, the royal instructions and the rules established by the Company from time to time, was adopted. In the provisions for the regulation of trade, it was stated with great particularity that as soon as the period agreed upon for the continuation of the joint stock for the Magazine expired, entire liberty was to be allowed every one to enter into private commercial relations with

the colonists.[1] In the meanwhile, much complaint seems to have been made of an inclination on the part of the Cape Merchant to set a higher value on the articles in his charge than he was authorized to do, an indirect means of reducing the value of the planters' tobacco below the prices laid down by the Assembly, acting under orders from the Company. The complaint coming to the knowledge of the latter, the Governor and Council were commanded to examine his invoices to find out whether he had disposed of the goods sent him to be bartered, at higher figures than he could justify in his instructions.[2] It would seem that the legal rates at which the tobacco was to be exchanged, namely, three shillings for that of the best quality and eighteen pence for that of the worst, were too much, and that the Cape Merchant in raising the prices of the articles in the Magazine was merely seeking to

[1] Orders and Constitutions, 1619, p. 23, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III. The "Society of Particular Adventurers for Traffic with the People of Virginia in Joint Stock" was dissolved Jan. 22, 1619–20. The minute of the Company showing this is as follows: "Concerning the Magazine touching the joynt . . . whether it should continue or not, after some discussion given for the maintenance of it no longer, it was generally agreed by ye adventurers that it should be dissolved, which by raising of hands being put to ye question was ratified, now ordering that for ye 5200 and odd pounds worth of goods here remaining, rated at the cost of first penny, shall first be put off before any of ye same kind shall be sent." *Collingwood MS. Records of London Company*, in Congressional Library, vol. I, p. 64. It was declared February 2, that as the Magazine, that is to say, the Society of Particular Adventurers, had voluntarily dissolved itself, "now matters of trade are free and open for all men." *Ibid.*, p. 72. It should be remembered that the supplies which had since 1616 been dispatched to Virginia had been sent by this Society, which had been granted a monopoly recognized by all except during Argoll's administration. Magazines continued to be forwarded to the Colony, but they were the property of particular associations of subscribers, united in temporary joint stock.

[2] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 55.

secure a legitimate margin of profit. The planters asserted that the adventurers in England sold the leaf procured in the Colony at an advance of two hundred per cent over its cost in Virginia, and on this ground they justified a number of deceits in passing bad tobacco upon the Cape Merchant at the highest rates.[1] There does not appear to have been any ground for this assertion. The Magazine sent out in the course of 1620, under the charge of Mr. Blaney, not only failed to assure any profit to the adventurers of that particular joint stock,[2] but the very principal of the subscription was lost, and lost on account of the impossibility of obtaining in England prices for tobacco that would cover the amount expended in its purchase in Virginia, and the various charges attendant upon the voyage.[3] The abolition of the special rates adopted by the Assembly in 1619 became imperative. In July, 1621, the Company, in a letter addressed to the Governor and Council in Virginia, instructed them to secure for the Cape Merchant who would dispose of the cargo of the ship in which the letter was conveyed, full liberty to sell the goods at the highest prices offered, and to get the main commodity of the country in exchange without regard to the rates formerly prescribed by law.[4] In the same month in which this order had been given, a Quarter Court was held, and four rolls were offered for subscriptions. One of these rolls related to clothing and articles of a like nature. Eighteen hundred pounds sterling were at once obtained,

[1] Company's Letters, August and September, 1621, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 238, 244.

[2] The Society of Particular Adventurers in Joint Stock had now been dissolved. This Magazine was sent out by a special and temporary association of subscribers.

[3] Company's Letter, September, 1621, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 243; *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 124. [4] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 262.

although many members were not present, this being the period of vacation and the town deserted.[1] In August, the following month, the magazine ship not being yet ready to sail, the Company took advantage of the departure of the *Marmaduke* to write again to the Governor and Council in Virginia, and after complaining of the inferior tobacco passed surreptitiously upon the Cape Merchant, announced that upon the expiration of the year 1621 they would not furnish any supplies to the planters in exchange, as the latter considered it entirely proper to purchase these supplies on long credits, but never failed to demand cash when they disposed of their crops to the Company. The disinterestedness of this body in relation to the Colony in the matter of trade appears from the warning in the same communication that in paying for the cattle which Mr. Gookin was at this time importing into Virginia from Ireland, the best grades of tobacco only should be used, as a means not only of securing further consignments of live stock, but also of goods, which could from that country be obtained at easier rates than from the Company in England.[2]

According to the promise of the Company, the magazine ship, the *Warwick*, accompanied by a pinnace, sailed for Virginia in September, with a large cargo of clothing and other necessaries not to be procured in the Colony. The articles forwarded were designed merely for the relief and comfort of the planters, although the Company was aware that a far greater profit was to be got from sending over what would pander to the vanity and the appetites of the people, such as spirits and fine apparel. This cargo was valued at a thousand pounds sterling. In order to avoid the certain loss which would result from

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 158. [2] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 238, 240.

exchanging the goods included in the Magazine, for tobacco at the rate of three shillings a pound for the best, or eighteen pence for the meanest grades, the Governor and Council were enjoined to leave Mr. Blaney, who was in charge of it, to his free discretion in disposing of the merchandise within the limits as to price laid down in private instructions for his guidance. The Company also urged that it was to the interest of the planters that there should be a profitable return upon this Magazine, as those who had invested large sums in its purchase would be encouraged to continue in the same course, assuring a certain and steady supply of necessary goods for the people of the Colony.[1] The Company admitted that its own treasury was empty and that only reliance was to be placed upon the purses of its members coming forward in the character of private adventurers.[2] The pinnace accompanying the magazine ship was captured by the Turks and never reached Virginia, thus causing the loss of the goods on board designed for the planters.[3] In the reply returned by the Governor and Council to the instructions sent over, they informed the Company that the bulk of the crop of the previous season had been disposed of before the magazine ship arrived, and in consequence of this fact, they had recommended Mr. Blaney to distribute among the colonists the merchandise which he had imported, taking their bonds to secure his ownership in the tobacco to be planted in the following season. This letter reveals the fact that in practice free trade had now been fully established in Virginia.[4]

[1] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 241–245.

[2] Company's Letter, December, 1621, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 268.

[3] Letter of Governor and Council of Virginia to Company, January, 1621–22, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 276.

[4] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 277.

As early as the autumn of 1619, a ship had been dispatched to Newfoundland with a cargo of tobacco in charge of the Cape Merchant, Abraham Piersey, who was then residing in the Colony, to be exchanged for fish.[1] The general example set by the Dutch privateer which in 1619 imported into Virginia the first cargo of negroes introduced, was doubtless imitated by other vessels of the Low Countries, especially after the establishment by the Company of factories at Middleburg and Flushing. In the *Discourse* drawn up by former members of that body after its dissolution, it is distinctly affirmed that the people during the administration of Yeardley, and also during that of Wyatt previous to the massacre, had enjoyed, in consequence of the free trade allowed at that time, ample supplies of necessaries from abroad.[2] In a letter from the Governor and Council in Virginia to the authorities in England, referring to the latter part of 1622, the year in which the massacre took place, it was stated that private adventurers were constantly reaching the Colony who furnished the inhabitants with articles that were particularly acceptable, such as sweetmeats, sack, and strong liquors.[3] The Dutch were probably the chief participants in this trade.[4] Specific

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 541.

[2] The Discourse of the Old Company, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 40; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 160.

[3] Governor and Council of Virginia to Company, January, 1622–23, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 372.

[4] In *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. I, p. 25, the following entry will be found under date of September, 1621: "Resolution of the States of Holland and Westvriesland dated 13 Sept^{r}. Read a petition from Gerret Van Schoudhoven and other Guinea Traders; Item also, the petition of Traders to Virginia requesting to be allowed to send out some ships to bring their returns thence to this country as the trade and commerce thither are not to be lost before the West India

orders were sent to Governor Wyatt to prohibit all exchange with the people of Holland, as this diversion of tobacco from England diminished the volume of the royal customs. In 1623, Wyatt was thrown into a state of great doubt as to what course he ought to pursue, by the information received from the captain of an English vessel, that a Dutch ship which he had passed at sea had expressed an intention of making a voyage to Virginia to exchange supplies for its principal commodity.[1] The need of such supplies was now urgent. The financial inability of the Company had been fully set forth in its letter to the Governor and Council in the previous autumn, in which stress was also laid upon the discouragement of the adventurers in consequence of the failure of Mr. Blaney, the Cape Merchant, who had arrived at Jamestown in the *Warwick* in the previous year, to dispose of the goods in his charge except on credits which had not yet been collected.[2] The Company had by this time expended one hundred thousand pounds sterling in the Virginian enterprise without profit and without recovery of even a part of the capital invested.[3] In 1623, it was compelled in

Company be formed and ready." These petitions were allowed on condition that the petitioners pledged "themselves to be back to this country (*i.e.* Holland) before the 1st of July next." On Wednesday, Sept. 15, 1621, the States General granted permission to Henrich Elkens, Hans Jooris Houton, and Adriaen Janssen "to send their ship named the *White Dove*, burden about forty lasts . . . to Virginia, on condition that they shall have returned to this country before the first of July next with their goods and ship." *Ibid.*, p. 26. After this period the Dutch trade with Virginia was carried on under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company.

[1] Governor Wyatt to John Ferrer, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 26; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 87, Va. State Library.

[2] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 355, 356.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 144. In a petition to the King, presented in 1623 by the Somers Isles (Bermudas) and London Companies, it is stated that £200,000 had been

spite of its poverty to pay out an enormous sum for that age to rescue the inhabitants of the Colony from a famine precipitated by the terrible mortality prevailing there in the spring of that year. The Privy Council issued an order requiring that the name of every member of the Company and the number and value of his shares should be certified to the Council, the object of this being to mulct him in proportion to his holding, as a contribution to the fund to be raised for purchasing supplies for the starving people. The payment made by each shareholder was not to fall short of ten shillings.[1] It was not intended to restrict the proportion which each was to give, to the amount of his stock; each could contribute a larger sum if he wished to do so, or become an adventurer in a private magazine to be sent out to the Colony. Such a magazine was erected, Richard Caswell receiving the appointment of Treasurer. By July 4th, sixteen names had been obtained, the amount promised being seven hundred and twenty-seven pounds sterling, in sums ranging from ten to one hundred pounds;[2] the subscriptions were attached to several rolls, the signatures having been secured by Mr. Caswell, who had made personal visits to members of the Company who happened to be in town.[3] The supplies included in the magazine were transported to Virginia in the charge of a cape merchant appointed especially to superintend its disbursement. This cape

expended in their plantation. *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 50; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 158, Va. State Library.

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 227.

[2] List of Underwriters for a Speedy Supply to Virginia, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 39; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, pp. 122, 123, Va. State Library.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 228.

merchant was afterwards accused by the faction hostile to the Southampton Administration of selling its contents at excessive rates, being able to do so on account of the great demand for such articles. The charge was fully refuted by Mr. Caswell. In a speech delivered at a General Court, he stated that the meal, which constituted a very important part of the supplies, and in connection with which it was asserted extortion had been exercised, had been purchased in England at nine shillings a bushel, an amount swelled to thirteen shillings by the charges for custom and freight. In England, a hogshead of meal measuring nine bushels was valued in the market at five pounds and seventeen shillings. In Virginia, at this time, the same quantity was sold for eighty pounds of tobacco, a commodity commanding in England eighteen pence a pound, in consequence of which the margin of profit upon each bushel sank to six pence after the payment of all charges and after allowance for shrinkage.[1]

There were other magazine ships dispatched to Virginia in 1623, in addition to the *Hopewell*, which transported the supplies secured by Mr. Caswell. The magazine sent in the *Truelove* was valued at five hundred and thirty-six pounds sterling. The master of the ship invested sixty pounds in its cargo, while Mr. Dodson, a prominent member of the Company, subscribed to an interest in it, which would now be represented by two thousand dollars.[2] This last subscription reveals the liberal spirit shown at this crisis in the history of the Colony, for Mr. Dodson had already been compelled by the order in Council to contribute to the general fund for the use of the people

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 261.

[2] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 43, II; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 139, Va. State Library.

in Virginia, in proportion to his shares. In making a venture in the private magazine carried over in the *Truelove*, his prospect of gain, owing to the depressed condition of the Colony, must have been very small. His action was reflected in that of many other members of the Company, whose experience in the past had not been such as to raise their expectation of profit.

The supplies forwarded to the people in Virginia were not obtained from England only. The *William and John* brought in a cargo from Flushing in the Low Countries, in which city, as has been seen, the Company had opened a factory for the sale of its tobacco.[1] A large quantity of necessary articles of all kinds was also received by individual planters from friends or relatives in England; in September, for instance, there arrived for George Harrison, from his brother, flour, oatmeal, peas, cheese, vinegar, and a chest containing spices, tools, and powder.[2] The goods imported at this time were introduced in hogsheads, one ship bringing over two hundred and forty. In the same year, several vessels were engaged in transporting fish to Virginia from Newfoundland.[3]

The revocation of the charter in 1624 left the plantations open without restriction to independent traders. In a brief interval immediately following the recall of the letters patent, before the new relations of the Colony with the mother country had been fully adjusted, the English Government, which had now absorbed into itself all the powers of the former Company, took the necessary precautions to prevent a dearth of supplies in Virginia. The

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 44; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 142, Va. State Library.

[3] Dephebus Canne to John Delbridge, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 36; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 119, Va. State Library.

Company, as long as it remained in existence, felt under the strongest obligation, apart from all consideration of profit, to promote the importation of English goods to meet the necessities of the people. This feeling was transmitted to the royal government when that corporation ceased to exist. The royal government was also in some measure actuated by the desire to prevent the diversion of tobacco to Holland, which would have diminished the customs of England proportionately. In the beginning, the Colony was in serious danger of suffering in the extreme from the want more especially of apparel and munition. The object which Sir George Yeardley was instructed to accomplish in his mission to London in 1625 was to obtain ample quantities of tools, powder, shot, and clothing, wine, aquavitæ, sugar, and spice.[1] He found on his arrival that an order had been issued by the Privy Council to the municipal authorities of Southampton to send a vessel to Virginia loaded with a large cargo of the articles needed there;[2] to this order, an answer was returned that a ship was already fitting out in that port designed to carry a great store of merchandise to the Colony. In addition to this ship, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons sailed from London and a third from Plymouth.[3] In the course of 1626 and 1627, it was clearly shown that so far from the abolition of the Company having inflicted any suffering upon the settlers by curtailing their imported supplies,

[1] Petition of Sir George Yeardley, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 46; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1625*, pp. 119, 120, Va. State Library.

[2] Mayor and Aldermen of Southampton to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 48; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1625*, p. 123, Va. State Library.

[3] Mayor and Aldermen of Southampton to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 48; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1625*, p. 123, Va. State Library.

they had never before received so large a quantity, especially in the matter of liquors and clothing. The most active participant in this new trade was John Preen of London, who at this time had only reached his thirty-sixth year; in 1626, he is found, together with Thomas Willoughby of Rochester and John Pollington of London, seeking permission to convey to Virginia not only passengers and munition, but also goods of various sorts. Ten barrels of powder constituted a part of the cargo. As the voyage was attended with great danger of attack from enemies roaming the seas, Preen obtained the consent of the authorities to the purchase of an additional fifteen barrels to be reserved for the defence of his ship. It is an indication of the perils of the age that he thought it necessary, before starting upon his voyage, to secure exemption from impressment, however great apparently the emergency.[1] In 1628, he testified to the fact that he had transported supplies to the Colony on four different occasions, and that in each instance he had borne the whole burden of the expense.[2]

The English Government was very much disposed at this time to encourage the several schemes advanced on the part of private individuals looking to the purchase of the annual crop of Virginia under the terms laid down in a regular contract, the object being to increase the amount of the customs by assuring the transportation into the mother country of all the tobacco raised in the Colony. Much stress was laid upon the fact that in this way the planters would receive in each year a large magazine of goods representing every variety needed. The Virginians

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 13; No. 13, I; No. 15; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1626*, pp. 148, 149, 152, Va. State Library.

[2] Petition of Captain John Preen, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 58; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1628*, p. 189, Va. State Library.

were not adverse to the suggestion, as has been seen, provided that in buying their product, a rate was adopted which would not assure a higher degree of profit to the owners of the goods than twenty-five per cent.[1] In the negotiations carried on by Sir George Yeardley, as the agent of the planters, and a Mr. Amis, who proposed to enter into a contract for a large part of the annual crop, it was required of the latter that he should furnish a standing magazine of articles to be exchanged for tobacco on the basis of eighteen pence a pound. This proposition was rejected by Amis, although it would have insured him a gain of fifty per cent upon the cost of his merchandise in England.[2]

There was now no dearth of imported supplies in the Colony. So great was the abundance of goods brought in immediately previous to 1630, that the planters became deeply indebted to the different persons who traded in Virginia.[3] The quantity of commodities of various sorts brought in after that date increased in proportion to the growth of population, not being exposed to serious interruptions except in an interval when foreign wars were in progress. During the long period between 1630 and 1700, the great volume of goods landed in the Colony were exported from England. A very important proportion, however, previous to 1661, came from Holland, and also both before and after that year, from the New Netherlands, the West Indies, New England, New York, and Maryland.

[1] Governor and Council of Virginia to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 10; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1626*, p. 142, Va. State Library.

[2] Governor Yeardley to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 21; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1627*, p. 156, Va. State Library.

[3] Governor West and Council to Attorney-General Heath, *British State Papers, Colonial*, Vol. IV, No. 40; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1628*, p. 172, Va. State Library.

Before entering into a description of the course of exchange between England and Virginia from 1630 to 1700, it will be interesting to give some account of the commercial relations of the planters with the countries which have just been named.

II.

I have already referred to the commerce with the Dutch during the existence of the Company and the steps taken to put an end to it. After the dissolution of that body, similar measures were adopted by the English Government, but they do not appear to have had more than a temporary effect.[1] In the winter of 1626, the *Flying Hart* arrived in Virginia from Flushing, and although its commander could show no commission, the authorities of the Colony, contrary to the well-known orders in Council issued on several occasions, admitted the vessel to trade.[2]

[1] "That as the King has directed his commission to divers gentlemen to treat and conclude a contract for all the tobacco of the English colonies for his Majesty's use, and that there are at this time divers ships freighting in the Low Countries for Virginia and the Caribbees, with intention to trade there and return with tobacco contrary to several orders and proclamations, as also the utter ruin of the contract now in treaty and likely to take effect, it is desired that strict charge be given from his Majesty or this Honorable Board (Privy Council) to the Governor of Virginia especially not to suffer any such trade, there being no need of their provisions, ships of good store of our own already gone and now going to supply their wants if any there be. This to be despatched with all speed, there being a ship ready to set sail, which may convey this Command before any of the Hollanders arrive." Dom. Cor. James I, vol. 169, No. 7, *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1624*, p. 2, Va. State Library. This letter was written in 1624. In October of that year, a ship reached Holland from Virginia, having on board a cargo of furs and other commodities, tobacco included presumably. *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. I, p. 34.

[2] Governor and Council to Commissioners for Virginia, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 1; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1626*, p. 124, Va. State Library.

In justifying their conduct afterwards, they declared that the owners of the *Flying Hart* were Englishmen and adventurers of the late Company, one of them, Arthur Swain, having been its principal factor in Holland. In the instructions drawn for the guidance of Yeardley, when he became Governor in 1626, the warmest disapprobation was expressed of the intercourse between Virginia and the Low Countries, but the uselessness of the disapproval is shown by the fact that a few years later the commerce with the Dutch had grown to such proportions that Captain Tucker, a leading merchant of the Colony, protested to the Privy Council against its being permitted to continue. He declared that the admission of supplies from Holland curtailed the Virginian market for English traders to an extent which diminished their profits very seriously, and that the discouragement of these traders signified that the planters would be deprived of the only agency upon which they could rely with absolute certainty for the acquisition of necessary foreign commodities; that the Dutch were already encroaching upon the boundaries of the Colony, and that a monopoly of its product would give them in the end the most complete possession of its soil. As an evidence that his statement as to the large volume of transactions by Dutch merchants in Virginia was not exaggerated, Captain Tucker called attention to the fact that two vessels from Zealand were then on the point of setting out for the Colony, the exchange of the cargoes of which for tobacco would impose a loss upon English merchants of four thousand pounds sterling.[1]

[1] *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. III, p. 43; *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VI, No. 82; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1633*, p. 48, Va. State Library. Tucker was supported in his position by Sir John Wolstenholme, who used all his influence to procure letters from the Privy Council to the Governor and Council in Virginia,

The active commercial relations between Holland and Virginia at this time seem to have been maintained in part at least by English merchants who resided in the Low Countries. In 1633, for instance, there arrived in the Colony from thence two vessels dispatched by John Constable and his associates, who were only prevented from carrying into Holland the tobacco obtained in Virginia in exchange for their goods, by the vigilance of the English admiral who was in command of the fleet cruising in the English channel.[1] Governor Harvey recommended to the Privy Council that no shipmaster should be allowed to dispose of a cargo in the Colony unless he could present a cocquet which had the approval of the authorities at Jamestown. The only effective means in his opinion for the enforcement of the rule shutting out all foreigners was to erect a custom-house in which vessels arriving should be compelled to make entry.[2] The suggestion was not acted upon. Even if steps had been taken to put it into practice, there is no reason to think that it would have accomplished the purpose in view. This was afterwards shown in the history of the different laws passed for the erection of ports, which, on account of the peculiar configuration of the country, failed to check the dispersion of trade. Public opinion at the date of Harvey's suggestion was opposed to the imposition of any restraint upon freedom of exchange with the Dutch, and

prohibiting the admission of the Dutch to trade. See his letter to Sir William Beecher, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VI, No. 81; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1633*, p. 47, Va. State Library.

[1] These were the two vessels from Zealand to which Captain Tucker had referred. See *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VIII, No. 3; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1633*, p. 53, Va. State Library.

[2] Governor and Council to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VIII, No. 3; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1633*, p. 53, Va. State Library.

little attention seems to have been paid to the wishes in this respect of the authorities in England. In the embittered controversy that arose in 1635 between Governor Harvey and Samuel Mathews, one of the gravest charges brought against the latter by the former was, that in the face of the expressed command of the Privy Council that all commerce with the Dutch should cease, he had admitted merchants from Holland into his house and had large transactions with them.[1] The open way in which they traded is disclosed by abundant evidence. Thus in 1634 there arrived in the Colony a ship from the Low Countries which disembarked one hundred and forty passengers who had been taken on board when the vessel touched at the Bermudas in the course of its voyage to Virginia.[2] In the following year, Devries, a Dutch captain of distinction, visited the Colony and disposed of his cargo apparently with as much freedom from restraint as if he had been an English subject. The character of the business is revealed in the fact that he was compelled to disperse his goods among the planters upon the security of liens on the growing crop. In the autumn of the same year, he returned to Virginia, and his first step after his arrival was to obtain a license entitling him to the privilege of sailing up and down James River for the purpose of receiving from his debtors the amount of tobacco for which they were bound to him. He seems to have had poor success in gathering his dues in hand. The volume of the crop was small and the greater portion of what had been produced had, at the earliest moment, been seized by the factors of the English traders who resided in the Colony. Devries not having a representative of his interests there at that time,

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VIII, No. 85.

[2] Census of 1634, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 91.

found that the security for his credits had for that year at least been preëmpted, and in consequence he was forced to defer his collections for a period of twelve months.[1] This fact indicates the extreme precariousness of the trade, and it was quite probably no uncommon instance. The necessary loss of interest for twenty-four months on the money originally invested in the goods disposed of to the colonists in the case especially referred to, could only have been covered by an extraordinary profit in the sale of the tobacco when it had at last been paid. It was only the certainty of such a profit which would have justified the merchant in running such risks.

Devries formed a high opinion of the capacity of the Virginians in the matter of bargains. Peter, he said, was always very near Paul in that country. Unless the foreign merchant was on the alert, he was in danger of being stuck in the tail. To get the best of him in an exchange, by deceit, was considered to be a Roman action, which entitled the performer to admiration and praise.[2] The Dutchman was probably smarting under the recollection of having been outwitted when he expressed this opinion; it sounds oddly as coming from a citizen of the nation which was justly regarded as being composed of the shrewdest and not the most scrupulous traders of that age. If all the deceits practised in the dealings with the people of the Colony in the seventeenth century were carefully summed up and a balance struck as to which party secured the greatest advantage from them, the

[1] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, pp. 112, 113. Devries, commenting on his own experience, said that "the English Virginias were an unfit place for the Dutch nation to trade, unless they continued the trade through all the year." pp. 113, 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

planter or the merchant, it would be soon seen that the former was more often the victim than the latter, and that his necessities were used to force him into bargains in which he alone suffered. The English authorities seem to have thought at this time that the Virginians were in much more danger from the Dutch in their commercial intercourse with that people than the Dutch were from the Virginians. The colonists were warned in a solemn document sent over by the Government that the Hollanders were seeking to make a prey of their tobacco by securing it at rates of exchange highly extortionate. It was pointed out that one of the worst evils of the exclusive devotion of the planters to that commodity was that it forced them to look to the Dutch in large part for their supplies, England not furnishing a sufficient market for the whole quantity produced, a fact of which the Dutch took advantage. The Governor and Council were ordered to put a stop to all trade with the Low Countries except in a time of great distress, and even in such a period, when a Dutch ship, after disposing of its cargo, left the Colony loaded down with tobacco, a bond was to be required of its master that he should proceed to London with his vessel for the purpose of paying the customs, after which he was to be permitted to continue his voyage to Holland.[1] An injunction to the same effect was inserted in the instructions given to Wyatt when he became Governor in 1638,[2] and it was repeated in the instructions to Berkeley in 1641.[3] There was quite probably an irresistible disposi-

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 47; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1637*, p. 193, Va. State Library.

[2] *Colonial Entry Book*, vol. 79, pp. 219–236; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 49, Va. State Library.

[3] Instructions to Berkeley, *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 388, Va. State Library. See, also, for these Instructions, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 280.

tion on the part of the authorities in Virginia to consider that the period of distress in which the strictness of the rule was to be relaxed had arrived whenever a Dutch ship made its appearance in the James or York, and that it was, therefore, entirely proper to issue to its captain a license to trade.[1] A case of this kind occurred in 1640. A Flemish vessel reached the Colony early in the season, and exchanged her goods for tobacco, which was taken on board and a security given for the payment of the customs in London. A petition was entered by the masters of the English ships riding at that time in Virginian waters, asking that an example should be made of the alien by confiscating her cargo. The General Court rejected it, alleging that when the Dutch vessel had arrived the people were in pressing want of supplies; and that the articles imported by her had afforded great relief; that the English ships reaching Virginia at a later date had been lacking in the commodities so much needed, and that if dependence had been placed upon them alone, the colonists would have been left in a state of "intolerable exigency." The license to the Fleming, instead of being revoked, was solemnly confirmed.[2]

The authorities of Virginia were disposed to extend to the Dutch as ample encouragement as they dared. A

[1] In the well-known speech delivered by Sir William Berkeley in March, 1651, before the Assembly, in condemnation of the first Act of Navigation, he charged the "men at Westminster" with the desire to bring the people of the Colony "to the same poverty wherein the Dutch found and relieved them." See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 77.

[2] General Court Orders, Feb. 4, 1640, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 183. The following is preserved in the *Records of Accomac County* in vol. 1632–1640, p. 17 (Va. State Library), being a part of an account between Mr. Burnett and Daniel Cughley of "several voyages made by the good vessel called the *Virgine*." "Pr. Contra: more for overplus of goods received out of ye Dutch voyage, 9 £."

special statute was passed in the session of 1642–43 having this object directly in view. The shipowners from Holland had complained, in a paper presented by them to the Assembly, that the requirement that they should always give bond, before their vessels departed from the Colony, to pay the duty on their cargoes of tobacco, had had the effect of seriously restricting the introduction of supplies from the Low Countries because it was difficult for Dutch traders to obtain the necessary security in Virginia. To remove this obstruction, the Assembly provided that no obligation should be demanded of the master or owner of any Dutch vessel who had procured letters of credit from an English merchant of high standing, guaranteeing the payment of the customs by the holder. This amount was to be settled in the form of a bill of exchange drawn on the person who had come forward as his surety.[1] The passage of this Act had a marked tendency to increase commercial intercourse with Holland. In the year in which it became a law, Devries observed four vessels from that country in the waters of Virginia, and there were doubtless others escaping his notice because lying in other parts of the Colony during his stay.[2]

An incident, occurring in 1643, reveals the little importance attached by many of the Dutch traders to the requirements as to letters of credit. During the visit of Devries to New Amsterdam in the autumn of this year, a vessel from Rotterdam arrived, having been driven far out of her intended course. This vessel, after leaving Holland, had proceeded to Madeira, and there taking on board a cargo of wine, had afterwards sailed to the West Indies. From thence, she had turned towards Virginia, where it was pro-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 258.

[2] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, p. 183.

posed to exchange the wine for tobacco. Ignorant of the coast, the master of the vessel had passed the Capes and had been blown as far to the north as New England. This Colony was found to be no market for liquors, and in consequence he had sailed to New Amsterdam, hoping to find purchasers in the burghers of that town. It will be seen in this case, that although the master of the ship had not touched at an English port and obtained the letters of credit which were necessary, he nevertheless had made his way towards Virginia with the full purpose of selling his wines to the planters. He disposed of them to an Englishman whom he met in New Amsterdam, but agreed to transport them to the Colony and there to deliver them into the hands of a factor. A portion of the wines were discharged at Jamestown and a portion at Fleur de Hundred.[1]

In 1646, the Dutch West India Company gave formal permission to the citizens of Holland to send out their own ships to the different places, including Virginia, coming within the jurisdiction of that corporation.[2] The records of the county courts belonging to this part of the seventeenth century show the importance of the private trade which in consequence of this order sprang up between Holland and Virginia. In 1646, an attachment was issued in York against all the property of Captain Derrickson, a citizen of the Low Countries, which was to

[1] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, pp. 176, 181, 183.

[2] *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. I, p. 162. In this year (Jan. 23, 1646), Parliament adopted a regulation which remitted customs on merchandise exported to Virginia, the Bermudas, and Barbadoes, the excise tax alone excepted. This privilege of exemption from payment of customs was, however, to be withdrawn from all the Plantations which continued to transport their tobacco to Europe in foreign (that is, continental) bottoms. *Hazard*, vol. I, pp. 634, 635.

be found in that county, Derrickson having carried off a maid-servant who was under articles of indenture to Mr. Richard Glover.[1] A few years later, Captain Francis Yeardley made an assignment, to a prominent firm of Rotterdam, of three negroes as security for the payment of a large amount of tobacco which he had promised to deliver in return for goods already received.[2] Powers of attorney from Dutch merchants to representatives in Virginia now become numerous. One instance among many was the appointment of John Merryman in 1647, to serve as the agent of Cornelius Starrman of Rotterdam in the collection of every form of indebtedness due the latter in the Colony.[3] In 1647, also, Thomas Lee was selected as one of the attorneys of William Scrapes of the same town.[4] The disordered condition of affairs in the mother country at this time, by withdrawing the attention of the English Government from Virginia, was doubtless highly promotive of the commerce between the planters and the Dutch, which only required absolute freedom for its expansion. In the winter of 1649, twelve ships from Holland arrived with cargoes of goods for exchange; the number of English ships coming in during this season was the same, indicating that the trade of the Colony was now equally divided between the Dutch and the English.[5] In

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 189, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 162.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 301, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, p. 165. There is the following entry in the same vol. f. p. 138, with reference to Lee: "It is ordered that three good hogsheads of tobacco be provided to be sent to Holland with Mr. Thomas Lee, to be sold there for the best advantage of Henry Seawell, to defray the charge of his passage and other charges of the said Seawell, who is to go to Holland with the said Lee." Seawell, it appears, was an orphan, and Lee, his kinsman, probably his guardian.

[5] New Description of Virginia, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.

1651, when Virginia yielded to Cromwell, a war was in progress between England and Holland, but it appears to have had no influence upon the intercourse between the planters and the owners of Dutch vessels. When the surrender to the Commissioners of the Commonwealth took place, the quantity of goods in the Colony belonging to Dutch merchants was so large that a special clause was introduced in the articles of submission, stipulating that these goods should be protected from surprisal.[1]

In a previous chapter, I have dwelt at some length on the exports of the Dutch from the Colony in the course of the Protectorate. There are only a few details relating to the importations by the same traders during this interval to be touched upon. In a petition now offered to the States-General by a large number of the merchants of Holland, who declare that for twenty years they had been engaged in commerce with the Virginians, they mention incidentally that the principal commodities which they had been conveying to the Colony were linen and coarse cloths, beer, brandy, and other distilled spirits.[2] These goods were exempted from Dutch customs.[3] Stuyvesant was at this time anxious that all vessels leaving the Low Countries with cargoes of merchandise for Virginia should be required to stop at New Amsterdam on the outward voyage, but the directors of the West India Company refused to comply with his request to that effect.[4] The owners of these cargoes were in many cases English merchants

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 365.

[2] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. I, p. 437. The Maryland Council declared that "the Dutch trade was the darling of the people of Virginia and Maryland." Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of Council*, 1636–1667, p. 428.

[3] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. XIV, p. 139.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. XIV, p. 209.

engaged in business in Holland. In 1653, Henry Mountford of Rotterdam appointed an agent in Lancaster County, who was instructed to collect all that was due his principal for advances of goods; and a similar power was given by John Sheppard of the same city to his representative in that county.[1] In 1656, Simon Overzhe, who described himself as a citizen of Rotterdam, granted a full discharge to Thomas Lambert, who had been acting as his factor in the county of Lower Norfolk.[2] A few years later, John de Potter of Amsterdam chose as his attorney in Virginia, his sister, who had married Thomas Edmunds of Elizabeth River.[3] Among the merchants residing in the Low Countries who were engaged at the time in trade with the planters of the Eastern Shore were Cornelius Schut, Nicholas Van Bleck, and Cornelius Stennick.[4]

[1] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1652–1657, pp. 83, 84.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, p. 232. Simon Overzhe resided at one time in Virginia, and at another in Maryland. Among other English merchants seated in Holland, who had dealings with planters in Lower Norfolk County, was William Harris. See his release of Francis Yeardley from all debts due by him to Harris, *Ibid.*, p. 24. William Moseley, who lived in Lower Norfolk County, was at one time a resident of Rotterdam. See *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1650–1666, p. 240.

[4] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1655–1657, p. 53; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1657–1666, orders Sept. 7, 1666. There is entered in the records of the same county a power of attorney from Jacob Derrickson and Abram Johnson of Holland to John Johnson to serve as their factor, both in Maryland and Virginia. See original vol. 1654–1655, f. p. 121. The following charter party drawn up in 1646 is a fair sample of the charter parties by which English merchants secured the advantages of Dutch shipping: "In the name of God, Amen. A charter party made the fourth day of September, 1646, and an agreement made by me Abraham Pyle, a publique . . . allowed and admitted of by the Lord of Holland, dwelling in . . . in the presence of the following partyes, namely, William Wright, Rowland Marstone, and John Bason together and every one, as all (in solidum) English merchants and freighters, to

The passage of the Navigation Act of 1660, which was directed against the people of all the Colonies, deprived the Virginians of the advantage of free trade enjoyed by them for so extended a period. In the beginning an illicit commercial intercourse was maintained with Dutch merchants, but at the end of ten years, except on the Eastern Shore, where smuggling continued throughout the rest of the century, the law seems to have been substantially enforced against all foreign countries. Ludwell declared in

Reignard Cornelius, husband and master of the shipp next, under God named, the Foxe, being of burthen about twoe hundred and sixty tunnes and being mounted with six good iron gunnes, and all other ammunition for warre, accordingly made in manner and form as followeth, vizt., that the aforesaid husband is obliged with the shipp to bee ready . . . . to deliver her tight and well caulkt, and also to be p'vided with anchors, cables, sayles and ropes, and in all other needful necessaries to be sufficiently provided, the which being thus made ready, then shall the officers and mariners bee taken care for by the fraighters, viz.: theire wages and victualls; this done then shall the maister sett sayle and run with the first convenient wynd and weather right through the seas to Virginia, and there having delivered and traded her goods, then to lade her again with such goods and wares as the fraighters please, and then the said ship being laded, the maister and officers with the aforesaid shipp (with the next fair wynd and weather which God shall be pleased to send), sett sayle back again for the Tassell and then to the port where he is to deliver. All which, in forme and manner before written, being accomplished, the aforesaid fraighters shall then first and not before, bee engaged and obliged to pay unto the said husband or his owners for his deserved freight, that is to say, for each month that the voyage shall last (to reckon a running monthe according to the almanacke) the summe of five hundred gilders per month, together with average and pilotage according to the manner and custom of the seas, which voyage shall begin when the said shipp shall be without the last boye in the Tassell. And then the said shipp being arrived at her desired port and at anchor, then shall the fraighters bee engaged for seaven months certain, although the voyage could be performed in a shorter time, but in case it doth continue longer, then to pay as before understood, viz., every month five hundred gilders; And it is also agreed that the fraighters in their returne, may put into Rochelle to seek convoy, but finding there none for Tassell, the said fraighters may then arrive in the Mase; there being arrived, the fraight shall then be due

1670, that no alien vessel had been allowed to exchange with the people of the Colony, and that the foreign ship-masters who had attempted to sell their commodities for tobacco had been arrested and brought to trial.[1] It was in this year that the *Dolphin*, which pretended to hail from Dartmouth, but which in reality was the property of Dutchmen, was seized by order of court and her contents confiscated, on the ground that she was navigated contrary to the Act. A similar charge was brought in 1670 against

and the shipp out of pay. Allsoe, it is agreed that if the said shipp do arrive in the Mase, that the fraighters shall pay the half of the charges to bring her to the Tassell or otherwyse do agree thereupon; moreover it is conditioned that the shipp shall not be carried into any other place to trade in any manner. Alsoe we are on both sides agreed that the shipp shall be ready to sett sayle in the space of one and twenty dayes without further delay or any neglect of either side, beginning upon the ninth of this instant month; farther, the freighters shall pay for such powder as they shall unnecessarily shoote away or deliver other powder in the place. Allsoe, it is conditioned that the fraighters shall give to the shipp one Jack and flagg; alsoe it is conditioned that the said husband shall eat and drink and sleep in the cabbin at the fraighters' charges, but his wages to bee payd him by his owners. It is alsoe conditioned that the said husband shall have privilidge to lay into the shipp soe much goods as may produce four hogsheads of tobacco, without paying fraight for; And it is agreed the shipp shall bee delivered at . . . ; whereupon wee bind ourselves each to other for the performance of what is aforesaid mentioned both in our persons and estates, and especially the fraighters' goods, shipped abroad, and the husband and said shipp fraight and all belonging to her, to be under submission unto all courts and justice. All this being uprightly done within . . . in the presence of Peter Losooke and Frederick Hopkins, as witness hereunto with the Notarie Publique." *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 30. We find the following in *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1656–1666, p. 342: "Acct. of Nicholas Brotis, April 15, 1662, forty ells of white linen . . . at forty gilders, Dutch ells; six and twenty Dutch ells of canvas, sixty-seven gilders; three pieces of callicoe, thirty-six gilders; half piece of fustian, sixteen gilders."

[1] Letter of Secretary Ludwell, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. XXV; *Winder Papers*, vol. I, p. 257, Va. State Library.

the *Hope* of Amsterdam and the same judgment entered.[1] All trade with Holland carried on after that period had first to pass through England. In consequence of the expense attending this necessity, it soon became unprofitable.[2]

The commerce between the Colony and the Dutch community seated at New Amsterdam was one of very considerable volume. It was so important, indeed, that in December, 1652, when hostilities were soon to break out between Holland and England, the Directors of the West India Company urged upon Stuyvesant the strong expediency of maintaining the most harmonious relations with the people of Virginia in order to retain their trade.[3] In the following spring, a commission was dispatched to Jamestown for the purpose of concluding a treaty, although the English and Dutch were now actually at war. The Governor there did not consider that he had the power to enter into such an arrangement without the permission of the authorities of the Commonwealth. A few months later, Stuyvesant sent a second commission, who were to ask for the continuation of the commercial intercourse between Virginia and the people of New Amsterdam, and who were also to secure the right to pay what the merchants of the Dutch province owed in the Colony, and to collect what was due them by its inhabitants. It was proposed that the grant of these privileges should be wholly provisional until the consent of their respective governments in Europe to the agreement had been obtained. This arrangement, it would appear, led to an extensive sale of merchandise in Virginia.[4]

[1] *Records of General Court*, pp. 8, 12.

[2] See *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 26, 1686.

[3] *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. XIV, p. 194.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

In 1655, the hostilities between Holland and England having been brought to a close, the Directors of the West India Company again instructed Stuyvesant to promote by every means in his power the commerce between Virginia and the New Netherlands, a matter which they thought devoid of difficulty, as the English were unable to supply the people of the Colony with all of the different kinds of merchandise they required.[1] To encourage the course of trade between the two, Stuyvesant was ordered in 1657 to impose a duty of only one per cent on all commodities shipped from New Netherlands to Virginia. In 1660, the volume of this trade was described as being very great.[2] The vessels from the Dutch province which brought in goods proceeded, as soon as they had secured their cargoes of tobacco, directly to Holland.[3]

When the New Netherlands became a possession of England, the volume of trade between that Colony and Virginia continued to be important. In 1666, Jacob Leisler of the former place put on record in the county court of Rappahannock, a power of attorney authorizing Thomas Hawkins to collect the different debts due him in that part of the country, in the form of bills, bonds, and open accounts.[4] In 1680, Edward Hill of Charles City became the agent of Daniel De Hart of Manhattan Island.[5] Henry Linch, in 1680, entered in the records of Lower Norfolk a power of attorney which he had re-

[1] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. XIV, pp. 333, 350. A considerable proportion of the commodities which were now imported into Virginia from New Amsterdam had been brought by way of Holland from the far East. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 389, 471.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 328.

[4] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1663–1668, p. 115, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 170, Va. State Library.

ceived of John Smith of New York to enable him to collect the sums in which the planters of that county were indebted to his principal.[1] Julian Verplanck of the same town likewise imported, during a long period of years, a large quantity of goods into Lower Norfolk.[2] Jacobis Vis had important transactions in the exchange of merchandise for tobacco in the counties of the Northern Neck.[3]

The debts due in the Colony to these merchants of New York became very often the subject of suit.[4] On the other hand, actions were not infrequently brought against their attorneys in Virginia and valuable property attached. In 1698, a judgment was secured by Major William Wilson of Hampton against Thomas Walton in the sum of fifty-two pounds and ten shillings sterling. In the same year, a vessel from New York ran aground near Hampton, and her cargo was seriously damaged.[5]

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 90.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1666–1675, p. 62; original vol. 1656–1666, p. 419.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1654–1702, p. 332.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 4, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, pp. 127, 162. There is an incident connected with the trade between Virginia and New York which shows the determination of the authorities in the former Colony to enforce the Navigation laws. An information was lodged in 1685 by the Attorney-General against the sloop *Katharine* of New York, on the ground that her master and some of her seamen were not of English nativity. The master appeared in York court and admitted that he was a Frenchman by birth, but insisted that he had received denizen papers from the Governor of New York. The Attorney-General proved that certain commodities of European growth had been imported into Virginia by the sloop, without having been loaded, as the Navigation Act required, in England, Wales, or Scotland. The captain replied by saying that these commodities had been obtained in New York, and he produced in court a certificate from the collector of that port in confirmation of his statement. The case was submitted to the justices, who gave a verdict that the vessel and its contents should be forfeited to the Crown. *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 148, Va. State Library.

There are evidences that the commercial intercourse between Virginia and New England began at an early date. In 1640, the General Court sitting at New Haven laid down the scale of prices to be used in the purchase of commodities from the Southern Colony.[1] The trade with this community increased in volume with the progress of time. In 1645, a suit was brought in New Haven by Richard Catchman, as attorney for Florentine Payne of Virginia, against Thomas Hart, who was largely indebted to Payne in their business transactions in that Colony.[2] John Thompson, at a subsequent date, was engaged in transporting supplies to the plantations on the James and York, and Mr. Evance was also the owner of a vessel employed in the same trade. In 1655, complaint was entered in the court at New Haven, that the badness of the biscuit and flour made at Milford had brought discredit in the Southern Colony upon all goods imported from the north.[3]

John Treworgie and Nicholas Shiplagh of New England, in 1647, appointed Isaac Allerton, Edward Gibbons, and John Richards their agents, to recover the amount in which George Ludlow of York was indebted to them in running accounts.[4] During the previous year, Gibbons had dispatched a ship to Virginia with a cargo of goods, which had barely escaped being wrecked.[5] In 1648, the dealings of Roger Fletcher of Boston with the Colony were so large that he appointed Thomas Bridge to act as his attorney.[6] Three years subsequent to this, there were

[1] *New Haven Colonial Records*, vol. 1638–1649, p. 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1653–1665, pp. 142, 317; vol. 1638–1649, p. 291.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 423, Va. State Library.

[5] Letter of Governor Winthrop, October, 1646, Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 172, note.

[6] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 61. See also *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April,

found in the waters of Virginia as many as seven vessels belonging to citizens of New England, which had entered to obtain cargoes of the different products of the country in return for merchandise.[1] In 1654, a sale was made by Thomas Willett of New Plymouth to Mathew Fassett of Lower Norfolk of his entire interest in the *Hopewell*, a vessel of twenty-six tons, to be used in the New England trade.[2] The owners of ships in that region not infrequently hired them to persons in Virginia who wished to export goods from the North; thus in 1654, William Vincent of Lower Norfolk County entered into a charter party with John Hart, by which the latter rented his bark to Vincent for five months and sixteen days at the rate of eight pounds sterling per month, payment to be made in coin, merchandise, and agricultural products to the extent of one-third in each.[3] Two years later the goods which Francis Emperor and Richard Whiting, prominent citizens of the Colony, were importing from New England in the *Dolphin* of Salem were damaged by a leak that was sprung not long after the ketch passed out of Nantucket. Captain Emperor, who at this time owned a part interest in the ship, the *Francis and Mary*, was actively engaged in the trade with the English provinces at the North.[4] The

1893, p. 201. A few years later the widow of Cornelius Lloyd of Lower Norfolk County appointed Nicholas Hart of New England her attorney, presumably to collect what was due the estate of her late husband in those parts. *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 109. He may, however, have been expected to act only in Virginia. See original vol. 1656–1666, p. 338.

[1] Weeden's *Social and Economic History of New England*, vol. I, p. 250. The wages of a sailor employed in the navigation of these ships were three pounds sterling by the month. The wages of a boy for the same length of time were one pound and fourteen shillings. See *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 129.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 83.

[3] *Ibid.*, f. p. 129.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1656–1666, pp. 34, 114.

Dolphin, it appeared, belonged to James Underwood, who had a considerable estate in Norfolk County; in 1662, an attachment was laid against his property because his vessel had on three different occasions taken in tobacco in Virginia without obtaining a license to trade or paying the duties laid down in Acts of Assembly.[1] A few years before, the ship of a prominent merchant of Boston had been seized with its cargo of goods at Nominy by the collector of the district on the ground of having violated the law.[2]

In the interval between 1656 and 1664, there were recorded a number of powers of attorney from merchants in New England, including among many others such men as John Saffin, Timothy Prout, and John Giffard of Boston, William Payne of Ipswich, William Browne of Salem, and John Holland of Dorchester.[3] A duty of ten shillings had, previous to 1665, been imposed upon every hogshead exported from Virginia to New England, but in this year, the Assembly having reason to believe that this tax diverted from the Colony an important part of the trade of the Northern provinces, repealed it, thus placing all ships from that quarter upon the same footing as the vessels arriving from England.[4]

As soon as hostilities broke out between England and Holland in 1672, the ships employed in the trade with New England were in special danger, since, being princi-

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1656–1666, p. 350.

[2] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, Appx., 418.

[3] See *Records of Northampton and Rappahannock Counties*. Saffin was very actively engaged in the trade between New England and Virginia, either on his own account or as the agent of others. See *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, p. 117, Va. State Library, for an instance in which he was the representative of John Pinchon of New England.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 218.

pally ketches, they had little ability to resist an attack of the enemy. In 1678, the *Providence*, belonging to Richard Hollingsworth, was captured off Block Island while on a voyage to Virginia, and in the same year, a vessel owned by John Grafton of Salem was also taken. It had on board for the Southern market a large quantity of rum, salt, sugar, mackerel, and cloth.[1]

An increased number of powers of attorney from New England merchants were placed on record in the county courts in the interval between 1670 and 1685. Among these merchants were Thomas Hillard, Joseph Townsend, Anthony Haywood, Thomas Maul, John Price, Richard West, Jonathan Corwin, John Pinchon, and Peter Sergeant. They secured their debts by mortgages upon the plantations, servants, slaves, and live stock of their debtors.[2] In one instance, Henry Ashton, a planter residing in Lancaster County, sold to John Saffin of Boston a house in that town in consideration of twenty-two pounds sterling, but this was probably a transfer of property, in which no security for previous obligations entered.[3]

[1] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. II, p. 662. There are several references in the *Records of Northampton County* to a ketch named the *Providence*. See original vol. 1664–1674, f. pp. 170, 173. Some years later the brigantine, the *Rose* of New England, came near being wrecked in Lynnhaven Bay. *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 233.

[2] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1666–1682, p. 398. *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1679–1694, p. 1. In 1673, Anthony Checkley and John Malley of Boston made a single shipment to Cherrystone in Northampton of goods valued at £171 9*s*. *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1664–1674, f. p. 187.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1666–1682, p. 190. There are entries in the county records which show that persons residing in Virginia not infrequently removed to New England, and, on the other hand, that citizens of New England sometimes established themselves in Virginia. In the will of Captain Nathaniel Walker of Northampton (original vol. 1683–1689, p. 24), he describes himself as "late of Boston,

There is recorded in Lancaster, a letter from Captain James Barton of New England, which throws light on the relations of the merchants there with the trade of Virginia at this time. He urges his correspondent, who was in the latter Colony and who was acting as his attorney, to secure a cargo of tobacco, hides, and pork for the market in Barbadoes, to be purchased with commodities already in his hands, and with goods that Barton would dispatch in his own ketch, now about to sail for Virginia. While the vessel was absent on the voyage to and from the West Indies, that being the second point of destination, the attorney was to make a further collection of hides, which, with tobacco, was to be shipped directly to Holland, an evidence that the merchants of New England openly evaded the injunctions of the Navigation Act.[1]

In case of disputes between New England traders and Virginian planters, it seems to have been occasionally the habit to settle the causes of difference by reference to arbitrators chosen among the citizens of Virginia. Such was the course pursued in 1680 by Hugh Campbell of Boston and Philip Edwards of Lower Norfolk County.[2] The attorneys representing many of the merchants of New England were shipmasters of the two Colonies.[3]

The commodities brought in by these vessels were only in small part of West Indian or New England growth or manufacture; through the merchants and shipowners of

now of Northampton." On another occasion, he speaks of himself as "formerly of New England." *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1664–1674, f. p. 175. In 1679, Thomas Bridge of Lower Norfolk County disposed of several tracts of land which he owned in that county, and took up his residence in Salem, Massachusetts. *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 76.

[1] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1666–1682, p. 440.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, p. 90.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1686–1695, f. pp. 58, 73, 84.

the Northern Colonies, the planters of Virginia obtained a large quantity of supplies which had originally come from Europe. The letters of Colonel William Byrd disclose the fact that he ordered through his correspondents in New England a great variety of goods, such as clothing, agricultural implements, and the like, a large proportion of which was not obtained by means of tobacco, but was purchased with bills of exchange.[1] His example was doubtless imitated by many of his contemporaries, whose letter books have not been transmitted to us.

The proximity of Maryland to Virginia naturally led to a very extensive trade between the two Colonies. As early as 1641, the records of the former show that its inhabitants purchased many of their supplies in the older communities south of the Potomac, and, on the other hand, that citizens of the latter were obtaining goods of different sorts from persons living in Maryland.[2] In 1642, Leonard Calvert acknowledged in court that he had at one time owed Thomas Stegg of Virginia as much as five thousand pounds of tobacco, and in the same year James Neale was granted process upon all the debts and merchandise which William Holmes of the same Colony possessed in Maryland, where he had been engaged in important transactions.[3] Suits on protested bills of exchange indicate at this time the volume of the mutual dealings; thus Margaret Brent of Maryland sought to compel Colonel George Ludlow of York to pay a bill of this kind for twenty pounds sterling returned from England dishonored, while Robert Kinsy of Virginia demanded of the court at

[1] Records of similar instances are very numerous in his letter book, now preserved among the Manuscript Collections of the Virginia Historical Society.

[2] Archives of Maryland, *Court and Testamentary Business*, vol. 1637–1650, pp. 116, 143.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 164.

St. Mary's that Robert Nicholls should settle an obligation amounting to fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco which he had refused to deliver. In 1643, John Hollis, as the representative of John Hillard of Maryland, was instructed to enter suit in Virginia against John Thatcher.[1]

These suits were not confined to tobacco. In the same year, William Parry of Virginia, through his attorney, Giles Brent, sought in the court at St. Mary's a verdict against Thomas Boys for eight pounds of beaver. This beaver was probably the consideration in a sale of cattle, as there seems to have been from an early date a trade in live stock between the citizens of Kecoughtan, the place where Parry resided, and the Colony farther to the north. In 1644, Leonard Calvert and Fulk Brent of Maryland were sued by Richard Bennett for a sum of tobacco due for supplies; and John Walton by Edward Bland for the value of a boat which Walton had obtained while trading in Virginia. Among other citizens of prominence in the latter Colony who at this time were carrying on commercial transactions with merchants in Maryland, were Thomas Mathew, Robert West, and John Hansford.[2]

When on one occasion it was decided by the authorities in Maryland to make an incursion upon the Indians living upon the Eastern Shore of that Province, a shallop was dispatched to Virginia to procure twenty corselets, a barrel of powder, four rundlets of shot, a barrel of oatmeal, three firkins of butter, and four cases of spirits.[3] In 1640, a proclamation was issued forbidding the transfer in Maryland, without a special license, of goods purchased in the Colony to the south. A strict inquiry was

[1] Archives of Maryland, *Court and Testamentary Business*, vol. 1637–1650, pp. 191, 192, 214.

[2] *Ibid.*, Parry, p. 220; Bennett, p. 269; Bland, p. 345; Mathew, West, and Hansford, pp. 410, 483, 518.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Proceedings of Council*, vol. 1636–1667, p. 85.

required to be made of the sales of liquors on board of the vessel owned by Ralph Beane, a citizen of that Colony.[1]

During the course of the last half of the century, the volume of trade between Virginia and Maryland steadily increased with their growth in wealth and population. The intercourse between the latter province and Lower Norfolk County seems to have been extremely frequent. Among the citizens of Maryland engaged in these commercial transactions, were William Holland, Edward Lloyd, Emanuel Ratcliffe, and Charles Egerton.[2] The exchanges with York and the Northern Neck were also very extensive. One of the notable features of the commerce between the two peoples at this time was the introduction into Virginia of mares from the Colony north of the Potomac, which was doubtless undertaken with a view to improving the breed of horses.[3]

The trade with the West Indies began as early as 1633, in which year, Captain Devries states that he made at Jamestown the acquaintance of Captain Stone, who had recently arrived from that part of America, it is to be presumed with a cargo of supplies to be bartered for tobacco.[4] The directors of the Dutch West India Company, writing to Stuyvesant in 1646, called his attention to the fact that persons from Virginia had already made their way to Curacoa, and were exchanging their commodities for its products.[5] Only a few years later, shipmasters from Barbadoes are found selling negroes to the

[1] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of Council*, vol. 1636–1667, pp. 94, 177.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 109. *Ibid.*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. pp. 106, 166, 186.

[3] *Records of the General Court*, p. 47.

[4] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, pp. 51, 52.

[5] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. XIV, p. 77.

planters along the York and James.[1] It was the custom of many of the vessels sailing from this island to proceed first to Virginia and afterwards to New England. The occasional course of trade is shown in the case of a cargo forwarded to the Colony towards the close of the century by Messrs. Anthony Palmer and Company; it was to be delivered to Paul Carrington, who was instructed to exchange it for tobacco, pitch, tar, and live hogs. If he found it impossible to obtain the return cargo in the course of five weeks, or to secure a freight rate of five pounds sterling a ton, he was commanded to dispatch the ship to Philadelphia with a load of pitch and tar.[2] In a vessel which left Barbadoes in 1661, the *Charles* of Southton, there were among the consignments for Virginia, six hogsheads of bay salt.[3] In some instances these consignments were restricted to negroes, in others to sugar, rum, and molasses.[4] How large they were very often, is illustrated in the case of William Byrd. On one occasion he obtained from this island twelve hundred gallons of rum, five thousand pounds of muscovado sugar, three tons of molasses, two hundred pounds of ginger, and one cask of lime-juice; on another, four thousand gallons of rum, five thousand pounds of muscovado, one very heavy barrel of white sugar, and ten tons of molasses.[5] The planter who had gone to Barbadoes to buy these commodities in person was frequently able

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 115. The monthly wages of these shipmasters were frequently paid in sugar at the rate of six pennies the hundred-weight, ten pounds in the hundred being allowed for shrinkage. *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 205.

[2] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, April, 1893, pp. 200, 201.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1666–1682, p. 31.

[4] *Records of Rappahannock County*, original vol. 1656–1664, p. 274. *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 23.

[5] *Letters of William Byrd*, October 18, 1686, April 16, 1688.

to make his purchases with bills of exchange which he had brought with him; thus in 1668, John Keele presented to Nathaniel Cooke of that island, three instruments of this character calling for payment in sugar, amounting in the aggregate to nearly five thousand pounds.[1] Disputed accounts arising in the course of this trade were carried to the General Court in Virginia for decision, and were ordered to be settled in kind, and not in coin or tobacco. An instance of this nature occurred in 1678, when this body, in a suit by Mr. Edmund Cowles against the attorneys of Mr. William Marshall, required the latter to deliver two hogsheads of muscovado sugar, one puncheon of rum, and eighty-five gallons of molasses.[2]

Tobacco and grain were not the only articles used in procuring the commodities of Barbadoes; in 1686, the sloop *Happy* transported from Lancaster County to that island, two firkins of butter, two barrels of pork, and twenty-two sides of tanned leather, in addition to one hundred and forty-four bushels of Indian corn.[3]

Many instances might be given of persons who were either residing in Virginia or who were visiting it for the special purpose, being invested with a power of attorney by merchants of Barbadoes who had disposed of goods there. In 1665, Edwin Thomas, who was on the point of setting out for the Colony from that island, was appointed the factor of Giles Hall, with the authority to gather together the different amounts in the form of pork and beef which were due him for West Indian goods, delivered some time previously.[4] A power of attorney is

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 41.

[2] *Records of General Court*, p. 158.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1682–1687, p. 111.

[4] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1663–1668, p. 87, Va. State Library.

recorded in Rappahannock in the same year from Epiphany Hill of Barbadoes, to Mr. Gates Hussey of that county, to collect all indebtedness to Hill, not only in the form of pork and beef, but also of tobacco and money sterling, as evidenced by note, bond, and judgment.[1] Many ships from year to year arrived in Virginia with cargoes of West Indian commodities, the owners of which depended on casual purchasers for the disposal of their stock, these purchasers being sought by passing from landing to landing in the principal rivers, the lower rates at which these articles were often sold under these circumstances inducing many planters who were engaged in trade not to send their orders to merchants in the West Indies.[2] The operations of these persons covered all parts of the Colony, from the country adjacent to the Potomac on the north to the valley of the James on the south. The rum, sugar, and molasses were conveyed in casks and barrels. The former not infrequently held only twenty-

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1663–1668, p. 85, Va. State Library. The following entries in the county records will further show the intimacy of the connection between Virginia and Barbadoes in this age. John Thomas, of the sloop *Content*, belonging to the Isle of Barbadoes, appoints as his attorney in Virginia, Thomas Ward. *Records of Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 125. Benjamin Dwight, of Barbadoes, sues Christopher Wormeley for debt. See orders, Oct. 7, 1689, *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694. It is stated in the inventory of John Godsill of Lancaster County that a parcel of rum belonging to his estate is expected from Barbadoes. *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1674–1687, f. p. 22. The will of John Morrah of Rappahannock County contains the following: "I give to my godson, Thomas Warden of Barbados, 1000 lbs. of muscovado sugar, now in the hands of Joseph Warden of Barbados, his father." Vol. 1677–1682, p. 17, Va. State Library. Nicholas Ware of Rappahannock County "acknowledges himself bound to John Vassall of Barbados in 17,234 lbs. tobacco." Original vol. 1656–1664, p. 274. See also, *William and Mary College Quarterly* for April, 1892, p. 145.

[2] *Letters of William Byrd*, May 29, 1689.

five gallons, eight being required to make a ton. The loss in consequence of the number of casks, casks and contents not being discriminated in the weight, was estimated at one-third. The same objection was urged against the sugar-barrel, which, by increasing the number needed in transportation, added in proportion to the amount paid in freight, without any compensation for so much dead material.[1]

The commercial intercourse between Virginia and the islands of the West Indies was often of an illicit character, the duty on liquor, so much of which was imported into the Colony from these islands, causing many ship-

[1] Among the merchants of Barbadoes who made large sales of commodities in Virginia in the course of the last half of the seventeenth century were James Graham, Thomas Beard, John Felton, Richard Bats, Christopher Mercer, John Barwick, and John Sadler. The trade between Virginia and the West Indies was not confined to Barbadoes. The following is taken from the *Records of Lower Norfolk County*: "Know all men . . . that I, William Sheers, of London, merchant, have agreed with Mr. John Brett of Nansemond, merchant, that I, the said William Sheers, is to receive aboard ye ship *Francis and Mary*, now riding in Elizabeth River and bound for Antigua, Mavis and St. Christopher, within thirty days after ye date, six head of neat cattle with provisions for them, on the said Brett paying for their transportation 700 lbs. of the best muscovado sugar, to be paid at ye arrival of the ship at either of above places within ten days, the said Sheers to find water for said cattle until their arrival, and one hogshead of corn for every one of them, freight free; and for all other goods Brett shall have aboard is to pay at ye rate of 350 lbs. good muscovado sugar, the penalty being 1600 lbs. Virginia tobacco." This contract is dated 1657. See *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1656–1666, p. 133. In 1685, William Dundas of Jamaica appointed Henry Spratt and Antony Lawson of the "continent of Virginia" his agents in the collection of debts due him by the estate of Robert Calderwood. *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 202. In 1693, John Wilkinson, Governor of the Bermudas, empowered Thomas Walke of Lower Norfolk County to act as his attorney in that county. See original vol. 1685–1696, f. p. 194. Reference to a Jersey ship will be found in *Records of General Court*, p. 99, and to a Jersey merchant's estate in Virginia, in *ibid.* p. 62.

owners and masters to make no report to the collector of the district in which their vessels came to anchor. The unlawful trading was especially prevalent on the Eastern Shore and in the Lower James, as these localities offered many facilities for eluding the vigilance of the officers of the revenue.[1]

In one instance only has evidence of a trade between South America and Virginia in the seventeenth century been discovered.[2] In 1670, it was decided that the articles enumerated in the Act of Navigation should not be transported directly to Ireland. Previous to the passage of this statute, as well as subsequent to it, there was a considerable volume of commerce between Virginia and the Irish ports.[3]

There are a few indications of commercial intercourse between Virginia and Scotland in the seventeenth century. In 1638, a special warrant was issued to John Burnett of Aberdeen, granting him the privilege of trading in the Colony upon condition that he paid the customs due upon the tobacco to be exported by him, and that he gave bond that he would only unload in Scotland.[4] In 1670, Thomas Bushrod, acting as the attorney of Thomas Lowry of Edinburgh, obtained judgment in the

[1] See *Official Letters of Gov. Spotswood*, Virginia Historical Society Publications.

[2] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, April, 1893, p. 152.

[3] This was a regulation of Parliament. See acquittance in Virginia, in 1670, of the ship *Anthony* of Londonderry, against which an information had been lodged by one of the collectors, on the ground that she was not a free vessel. *Records of General Court*, p. 40. For evidences of the trade between Virginia and Ireland, see *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, pp. 46, 179; *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1687–1700, pp. 167, 177; original vol. 1666–1682, p. 150.

[4] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 118; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 23, Va. State Library.

General Court against Samuel Onsteen for one hundred and twenty-seven pounds sterling, and four years later the same factor brought suit against William Drummond and Samuel Austin for the payment of a somewhat smaller amount.[1] In 1697, Benjamin Harrison shipped a cargo of tobacco directly to Scotland, but it is worthy of note that the name of the vessel was illegally changed in order to enter the port of its destination.[2]

[1] *Records of General Court*, pp. 5, 173.
[2] *British State Papers, Colonial, Virginia B. T.*, vol. II, B. 3.

CHAPTER XVI

MANUFACTURED SUPPLIES: FOREIGN — *continued*

THE great bulk of imported supplies consumed in the Colony after the dissolution of the Company, as previous to that event, was obtained from England, with which kingdom the course of trade differed from that carried on with the northern settlements and with the West Indies only in volume. A detailed account of its character and the agencies by which it was conducted is of general application to the commercial intercourse of Virginia, in the seventeenth century, with all the countries having transactions with its people. Among the English merchants who brought in supplies after the revocation of the letters patent in 1624, and previous to 1700, there were few who could be described as casual dealers, that is, dealers who were without representatives in the Colony, to whom their goods could be consigned to be disposed of gradually, but who instead relied upon the chance of selling their commodities as they passed in their ships from river to river. The objections to this manner of business were numerous. As early as 1635, Captain Devries declared, as the result of his own observation, that all who conveyed supplies to Virginia with the object of exchanging them for tobacco, should erect private storehouses to be placed in the care of a factor, who should be required to remain in the Colony in order to be prepared at the proper season to take possession of

the crops of the planters to whom goods had been sold on credit, not improbably twelve months beforehand.[1] The English merchants were in the habit of doing this, and in consequence enjoyed a notable advantage over their Dutch rivals. The opinion of Captain Devries was just as correct in its relation to the condition of trade fifty years later as it was at the particular period in which he wrote. In 1683, Colonel William Fitzhugh, who had a thorough knowledge of the course of business in Virginia, corresponding with certain shipowners in New England who had recently for the first time sent to the Colony a vessel loaded with merchandise, but with no one to dispose of it but the captain, who was ignorant of the country, stated that casual trading was destructive of all profit, because the owner of the goods, being in Virginia only for a short time, had to hasten his departure to reduce the cost attendant upon the navigation of his ship, and was, therefore, compelled to sell in order to secure a cargo of tobacco, whether its price was high or low. If, on the other hand, the merchandise, as soon as it was brought to the Colony, was placed in the hands of a factor, the latter could as occasion arose gradually dispose of it to advantage, being in a position to wait for an advance in rates if those prevailing were not satisfactory. When the vessel belonging to the owner of the commodities arrived, the products for which these commodities had previously from time to time been exchanged would be ready for delivery at certain places, and the expense of a long stay would be avoided. These facts were well known to the English traders and governed their action.[2]

The English merchants who supplied the planters with manufactured articles may be roughly divided into two

[1] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, p. 112.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Feb. 5, 1682–83.

classes: first, those who resided in the mother country and disposed of goods to the colonists either directly upon the receipt of the tobacco in England, or who shipped goods to Virginia to be sold there by factors; secondly, those who lived either permanently or temporarily in the Colony and exchanged the commodities which they had ordered, for the products of the country, acting either in their own persons or through local representatives in their different mercantile transactions. To the first class belonged men of such standing as Micajah Perry, Thomas Lane, John Cary, John Cooper, George Richards, Peter Paggin, and John Bland. These English merchants in many instances had brothers or near relatives in Virginia who served as their agents. This was the case with Micajah Perry. It was also the case with John Bland. The English traders who resided in the Colony were men like Francis Lee, John Chew, Thomas Burbage, Robert Vaulx, and John Greene. In some instances they returned to England. This was the case with Robert Vaulx,[1] John Greene,[2] and Francis Lee.[3] Participation in commercial exchange with the Virginians does not appear to have been the direct means of acquiring vast fortunes on the part of the merchants who resided in the mother country, although it is known that many persons engaged in this trade were men in affluent circumstances. Of the twenty-four who, towards the close of the seventeenth century, furnished the greater portion of the supplies of various kinds imported into the Colonies of Maryland and Virginia, not one bore a name

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 163, Va. State Library.

[2] References to Greene will be found in vol. 1663–1668 of *Rappahannock Records*, Va. State Library.

[3] In *Records of Middlesex County* (original vol. 1673–1685, p. 103), Lee speaks of himself as "of London, formerly of Virginia." See also *Records of York*, 1694–1702, p. 35, Va. State Library.

which is identified in an illustrious degree with the subsequent history of England either in a social or political way.[1]

[1] The following is the list: Micajah Perry, Thomas Lane, James Dryden, Jonathan Mathews, Richard Cox, Samuel Groom, Anthony Stratton, John Cary, Josiah Bacon, John Blackall, John Browne, Edward Littlepage, Robert Bristow, James Wagstaffe, John Taillor, Robert Ruddle, Arthur Bayley, Robert Bristow, Jr., Timothy Keyser, John Cooper, George Richards, Daniel Parker, Christopher Morgan, Sr., Peter Paggin. See *British State Papers, America and West Indies*, No. 512; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 251, 252, Va. State Library. Among the other English merchants who were engaged in the trade with Virginia were the following: York County — Stephen Duport, Peregrine Browne, John Lee, Joseph Hunter, Joseph Francis, Daniel Jenkins, Samuel Dean, Richard Starkey, Thomas Walsh; Lower Norfolk — William Bird of Bristol, Nathan Stainesmore, William Atterbury of London, Francis Wells, Thomas Meriwether, Joseph Knott, John Munyon, John Kick, Isaac Merritt, James Harris (some of these merchants refer to themselves now as of England, and now as of Lower Norfolk); Accomac — Thomas Willbourne of York, Francis Lee of London; Rappahannock — David Griffin of London, George Daly of Plymouth, John Nuttall, Thomas Griffith, Francis Benton, William Jenkins, Richard Gower; Middlesex — William Twigg of Dublin, Daniel Stoodeley of London, Francis Moore of Dublin, George Lee, Roger Burrough, Gawin Corbin, Edward Hill, John Bowles, Perient Trott, Richard Wilson, John Jeffreys, James Cary, William Crisp, all of London; Richard Lonnon of Dublin, Henry Ashton of Liverpool, John Goodwin, Jonathan Mathews, John Taylor; Lancaster — Thomas Ellis, Edward Harper, both of London; William Jennings, Anthony Cock of Bristol, John Hinde, Philip Taylor, Mathew Pitt, Philip Whistler of London, Thomas City, Francis Febran, Thomas Chitwood, Robert Hooper, John Fish, Thomas Booth, John Drake, all of London; Thomas Cooper, Joseph Hunt, and John Jayne of Bristol; Northampton — Nicholas Jackson, Thomas Heeman, Isaac Foxcroft, Ralph Allen, Thomas Buckner, Richard Corkhill of Biddeford, Henry Scarborough, John Martyn, John Bryce, Edward Prescott of London, Joseph Hunt of Bristol. The estates of many of these merchants at their deaths were inventoried in Virginia, showing that they were property holders if not residents at one time of the Colony. Thomas Chitwood is referred to sometimes as of Lancaster, and sometimes as of England. "Some from being wool hoppers and of meaner employment in England," remarks the author of *Leah and Rachel*, "have in Virginia become great merchants and attained to the most eminent advancement the Country afforded." p. 20, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

There is reason to think that the trade with Virginia was not steadily lucrative to an uncommon degree after all the necessary charges had been met, although the nominal margin of gain appeared to be very large. This margin is easily discovered through the whole extent of the century. In the winter of 1623, which, as has been seen, was one of such extraordinary want as to raise the prices of all articles of food to a point hitherto unknown, George Harrison wrote to his brother in England that if he would secure a vessel and send her to Virginia with a cargo of wine, butter, cheese, sugar, and other provisions, he could easily obtain a profit of two hundred pounds sterling at the least, about five thousand dollars in our modern currency. The amount required for the purchase of such a cargo in England rendered this sum equivalent to a gain of not less than fifty per cent, perhaps even to a gain of a hundred.[1] In 1626, the margin, after paying three shillings a pound for tobacco, was so small, that the English merchants declared that there was no inducement to exchange their goods for that commodity. The regulation fixing this as the price was revoked, and the English traders permitted to obtain, for their goods, tobacco at the lowest rates at which they could purchase it, in order to ensure some profit after the payment of all expenses.[2] This profit is stated to have ranged in 1638 from six to ten pence on each pound of that product disposed of at wholesale.[3] About

[1] George Harrison to his Brother, *British State Papers, Colonial*, No. 17, vol. II; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 78, Va. State Library.

[2] Instructions to Governor Yeardley, 1626, *British State Papers, Colonial; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 394. In the Instructions to Berkeley, 1641, there was the following clause: "that the merchant be not constrained to take tobacco at any price in exchange for his wares, but that it be lawful for him to make his own bargain for his goods." *British State Papers, Colonial; McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 358, Va. State Library.

[3] Remonstrance of Planters, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 100; *Winder Papers*, vol. I, p. 124, Va. State Library.

the middle of the century, the difference in the price of goods in England and Virginia was in the ratio of two to three. When Sir Edward Verney decided to send his son to the Colony to open a plantation, he wrote for information to an agent in London who enjoyed the fullest opportunities of learning the relative values of articles in the two countries; there was nothing, this agent replied, that costs twenty shillings in England which would not, if conveyed to Virginia, bring thirty shillings.[1] The margin of advance, thirty-three and one third per cent, was not extraordinary when it is recalled that out of it the duty on English exports as well as the duty on Virginian imports, if they happened to be liquors, had first to be paid, not to mention the heavy charge upon each ton of freight in the ocean voyage.[2] In 1658, a grandson of Sir Richard Newport, who had been a resident of Virginia for several years, returned to his English home with the report that the profits of trade with the planters were so small as to be unworthy of consideration.[3] At later periods, there were times in which the chance of gain fell off to such a point that the merchants no longer regarded it as advisable to transport their commodities to the colonial market. In 1690, Colonel Fitzhugh complained of the great uncertainty as to whether vessels from England would in that year make their appearance in the waters of the rivers in his part of Virginia.[4] Scarcity of shipping in the James was not infrequently a subject of comment with Colonel

[1] *Verney Papers*, Camden Society Publications; Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 110.

[2] In 1654, the Act "forbidding above fifty per cent gain in merchandise" was repealed. See Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 413. In 1661, the law permitted the settlement of the tax of two shillings per hogshead in goods at thirty per cent advance upon first cost. See *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 131.

[3] *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fifth Report, p. 145.

[4] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Aug. 10, 1690.

Byrd in his correspondence, the explanation being the same in both instances. The margin of gain was very high in some years, but on the average perhaps was moderate only. Colonel Fitzhugh, who was unusually familiar with all the conditions affecting it, declared that unless the tobacco obtained in exchange for goods had been purchased at a very low figure, the chief means by which the fortunes in that age were accumulated, the profit even in favorable years would be quite meagre. A variety of points had to be weighed in considering the prospect of securing even this degree of profit. These points included the length of the stay which the ship containing the cargo of merchandise would be compelled to make in Virginia before the goods could be sold, this being necessarily a source of great expense; the outlay required to cover the charges for storage and dunnage; the commission fees to be paid to the factors; the losses frequently incurred by their dishonesty, or, if they were conscientious in their dealings, by their negligence and carelessness, whether they were natives of Virginia or England; the uncertainty in relying upon an agent if he was expected to perform the duties of a shipmaster, since if he gave the greater part of his attention to the sale of his cargo, and in pursuit of that purpose absented himself from his ship, his crew would be slow in moving the vessel from place to place where tobacco was to be secured; and if, on the other hand, he showed indifference in looking for purchasers, a still greater amount of time would be lost to the merchant in whose employment he was engaged.[1]

None of these considerations had application in the cases in which the planter shipped his annual crop directly to the merchant in England, with instructions to exchange it for certain commodities to be returned to Virginia. There

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 8, 1687.

was probably no one who produced tobacco in very large quantities who was not in correspondence with persons engaged in business residing in London, Bristol, Plymouth, Liverpool, and other English towns on the seaboard or river coast. As early as 1628, perhaps in consequence of the exactions of the traders in Virginia, some of the colonists united in exporting their tobacco to the mother country, where it was sold for the articles they needed.[1] This course of action was continued by individual planters, especially by those who purchased the crops of their neighbors in great quantities in hope of securing a wide margin of gain; the consignments of such men were eagerly sought by the English merchant, as in the bulk they were so large as to afford a certain profit. Every shipment by the planter in Virginia to his English correspondent was accompanied by a bill of lading, giving the person to whom it was addressed the right to sell the products named in it; the English merchant thus brought into relations with the colonist was not only his commission merchant in the modern sense of the term, but also his general banker, having many hundred pounds sterling on deposit to his credit.[2] These balances were easily converted into such goods as the planter thought proper to direct to be sent him; if the cost of the articles specified, as a whole, should exceed the amount of money resulting from the sale of the tobacco, the merchant was

[1] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 55. The planters who accompanied their crops to England in 1628 in the *Temperance* may not have intended to return.

[2] Numerous accounts of Virginian planters with their English merchants are preserved in the records of the seventeenth century. The following may be given as an example (*Records of York County*, 1657–1662, p. 413, Va. State Library):

"June 29, 1659. Mr. Richard Jones for 28 hhd. received from *William and John* and *Thomas and Ann* ships containing about 10,938 lbs. of tobacco:

instructed to abate the order, or was requested to cover the deficiency upon the strength of a promise to make a second consignment to him.[1] Many disputes arose between the planters and their English correspondents as to fairness of dealing respecting the charges for commission and as to the quality of goods returned. The original prices

To custom on same 10,938 lbs.	£45. 11. 06
" Excise " " "	45. 11. 06
" . . . at 2^{sh} per 20^{sh}	4. 11. 09
" Carriage of 28 hhd. at 8^{sh} per hhd. . . .	18. 08
" petty charges at 20^{sh}	2. 06. 08
" Virginia Duty 2^{sh} per hhd.	2. 16. 00
" portridge at 4^{sh} per hhd.	9. 04
" Cooperage at 4^{sh}	9. 04
" Freight 28 hhd., 7 £ per ton	49. 00. 00
" Warehouse room at 2^{sh}	2. 16. 00
	154. 10. 09
To M^{r} John Whirken who went over in the *Thomas and Ann* ship	22. 11. 00
To ditto on bill of Exchange	4. 00. 00
	181. 01. 09
To goods consigned to M^{r} Richard Jones and sent in ye *Honor*	21. 01. 11
	202. 03. 08

Cr.

M^{r} Richard Jones is credited for 28 hhd. received from aboard the *William and John* and the *Thomas and Ann* q^{t} neat 10,938 lbs. @ 6^{d} per pound £273. 09. 00

M^{r} Richard Jones is D^{r} upon yis yeares Account.	£177. 00. 00
	£ 96. 09. 00
M^{r} Jones is debtor for goods sent in the *Honor* yis yeare	£ 21. 01. 00
Upon a bill	04. 00. 00
	£ 25. 01. 00 "

See, for a still more interesting example, the account preserved in *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 297, Va. State Library. See also *Ibid.*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 442; also *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 395, Va. State Library.

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 11, 1692.

were also at times causes of much dissatisfaction, and these grounds for occasional discontent partially explain the number of English merchants with whom the Virginian dealt when he was in the habit of exporting tobacco to England on his own account. The reasons for dissatisfaction, however, were not all on the side of the planter; there were cases in which the English trader had occasion to regret that he had advanced supplies beyond the value of the consignment which he had received. In 1688, a petition was brought before the Privy Council, in which it was affirmed that Edmund Scarborough was indebted to the petitioners to an extent exceeding seven hundred pounds sterling, the consideration being large quantities of goods shipped from time to time to Scarborough's plantation, which still remained unpaid for. This sum amounted in our modern currency perhaps to sixteen or seventeen thousand dollars.[1]

The articles ordered by the planters of their English merchants represented a great variety in kind and quality. Striking instances of this fact are scattered throughout the letter books of Fitzhugh and Byrd. On one occasion Fitzhugh instructs his English merchant to send to him five dozen gallon stone jugs;[2] on another, a new feather-bed with curtains and valance, and also an old feather-bed, as he had been informed that one which had never been used was apt to be full of dust. On still another occasion he wrote for two quilts, a side-saddle, a large silver salt-cellar, a pair of woman's gallooned shoes, a table, a case of drawers and a looking-glass, two leather carpets, several gallons of oil, and a box of glass with white lead and colors.[3] Many of the orders given by Fitzhugh

[1] Privy Council to Governor Berkeley, *British State Papers, Colonial; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1668*, p. 138, Va. State Library.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, May 22, 1683. [3] *Ibid.*, July 26, 1698.

related to clothing. Writing in 1681 to his merchant in London, he directed that the balance which remained undisposed of after the several commissions he had given had been filled, should be expended in the purchase of linen, including the finest holland. There should also be one piece of kenting and several pieces of dimity. The selection was left to his correspondent.[1] In a subsequent letter Fitzhugh expresses himself in less general terms, in asking to be sent to him, with bills of lading, to be delivered at his landing, a certain quantity of kerseys, cottons, and coarse canvas, thread and silk, shoes and ironware, and also a hundred-weight of Gloucester cheese.[2] Several years afterwards he directed Mr. Sergeant in London to devote the proceeds of the tobacco which he had just shipped to him to the purchase of kerseys, cottons, blue linen, a bale of canvas, thirty ells of holland sheeting, nails, hoes, and axes.[3] His orders were not forwarded to London merchants alone. In 1681, he is found in correspondence with Stephen Watts of Bristol, who is told to return for the tobacco consigned to him two dozen pairs of shoes, among other articles,[4] and similar instructions were given by him to merchants who resided in other towns in England. Fitzhugh, by this course of exchange, obtained goods not only for use in his own household, but also for sale to his neighbors.

Colonel William Byrd, whose home was situated on James River, which was in more direct communication with England than the Potomac and even the Rappahannock, was equally in the habit of giving to his English merchants both large and small commissions, to be filled on receipt of the tobacco and bills of exchange forwarded by him. In 1685, he is found writing for a hat and a pair

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, June 7, 1681.
[2] *Ibid.*, June 15, 21, 1692.
[3] *Ibid.*, July 23, 1693.
[4] *Ibid.*, March 30, 1681.

of shoes, and in the same year for a saddle and for letter paper. In 1690, he orders to be sent to him half a dozen riding neck-cloths and two or three pairs of linen stocks. While his house at Westover was in the course of erection in 1690, he instructs his English merchant to ship to him in Virginia a bedstead, bed, and curtains, a looking-glass, one small and one middling oval table, and a dozen Russian leather chairs. From time to time he procures from England through the same agency clothing of every kind and a great variety of European wines.[1]

It was not uncommon for the captain of a vessel on the point of transporting the crop of a planter to England, to enter into a contract with him, by the terms of which, the shipmaster was to exchange his cargo in the mother country for goods specified in the agreement between the two parties. An instance of this nature is found in the records of Rappahannock for 1669. Thomas Butler of that county in this year bound himself to deliver to George Brown, the captain of the *Elizabeth* of London, three hogsheads of sweet-scented tobacco belonging to the choicest portion of his crop. Brown was to carry this tobacco to England and there was to dispose of it for money sterling. After having laid aside twenty-two pounds for his own use, the amount of a claim which he held against Butler for goods previously sold to him, Brown was to employ whatever remained in buying linen and woollen cloths, shoes, and stockings, to be conveyed to Butler in Virginia.[2]

The general course of the English merchant in dealing with the planters was to send out a cargo to Virginia, there to be placed in the hands of a factor who had re-

[1] *Letters of William Byrd*, June 5, 6, 1685; August 8, 1690. This was not the present Westover house.

[2] *Records of Rappahannock County*, original vol. 1668–1672, p. 291.

ceived formal authority to serve as his agent. The character of this cargo depended in large measure upon the special line of trade which the person who dispatched it pursued. Every branch appears to have been represented by the English merchants who had commercial intercourse with Virginia in the seventeenth century; there were tallow-chandlers, haberdashers, distillers, stationers, pewterers, fletchers, ironmongers, cordwainers, apothecaries, felt-makers, merchant tailors, weavers, goldsmiths, coopers, vintners, and woollen drapers. Only in a few cases did they, in the powers of attorney which they gave to their factors in the Colony, describe themselves as tobacconists.[1] The value of the goods sent by the English traders to the Colony was very great; those included in a single shipment made in 1681 were held at twelve thousand pounds sterling.[2] Instances of cargoes appraised at two thousand pounds sterling were not uncommon, a sum with a purchasing power perhaps equivalent to as much as fifty thousand dollars at present.[3] A fair notion may be obtained of the size of many of these cargoes from the warrants issued in the time of the Protectorate giving permission to merchants to transport shoes to Virginia, there being a law then prohibiting the exportation of leather without a special license from the Government. In 1653, licenses of this kind were granted to the masters and owners of twelve

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 171; *Ibid.*, vol. 1691–1701, p. 89, Va. State Library.

[2] Petition of William Fisher *et al.*, *British State Papers, Colonial; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1681*, p. 104, Va. State Library.

[3] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 64. In 1678, James Vaulx imported a cargo of goods valued at £260. *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 390, Va. State Library. A cargo brought into Northampton County about the middle of the century by Edward Prescott was appraised at £471 18*s.* 6*d.* See *Records* of that county, original vol. 1654–1655, f. p. 43.

vessels to carry out respectively eighteen hundred pairs, making twenty-one thousand and six hundred pairs in all;[1] five years later, the masters and owners of ten ships were authorized to export to Virginia twenty-four thousand pairs.[2] During the forty years which elapsed between the Restoration and the close of the century, the increase in this one item of imports must have been extremely large in consequence of the growth in population.[3] The same expansion, it is reasonable to infer, extended to the great variety of other goods brought in at the same time.

If the English merchant who had determined to export goods to Virginia did not possess a ship in which they might be conveyed, he entered into a contract with the owner of a vessel for their transfer, the goods themselves, however, remaining in charge of the person whom he had appointed to accompany them. Several traders who followed different branches of business often united in chartering a ship and employing a single factor to represent their several interests in the cargo. In many cases, the captain of the vessel acted for the English merchant whose property he had taken on board, such an agent receiving instructions which were generally placed on record as soon as he arrived in the Colony.[4] The commodities trans-

[1] Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574–1660, p. 411.

[2] *Inter. Entry Book*, vol. 106, p. 762.

[3] It is not improbable that in the previous cases the word "Virginia" was intended to include the English plantations in the West Indies and all the English colonies in North America.

[4] The agency of the captain was sometimes made conditional, as the following from *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 46, Va. State Library, will show:

"London 4th Xber 1672.

Mr. Thomas Warren. — The goods which I have on board yr shipp viz. the 3 chests and 6 bbls. etc., which goe consigned to Mr Samuel Trevillian, be pleased to take into ye charge of it, should please God to

ported were stored in large cases, chests, trunks, hogsheads, barrels, and casks. At times, a heavy loss resulted to the owner not only from rough handling and the casualties of an ocean passage, but also from embezzlement by the seamen and even by the master of the ship.[1] If a war was in progress, there was always peril of capture by the enemy. In 1665, the Dutch, who were then engaged in hostilities with the English, destroyed a fleet of merchantmen in the mouth of the James. From the earliest period, the vessels employed in the Virginian trade were under the necessity of carrying guns. In 1633, the number in single instances ranged from twenty to twenty-four.[2] A pro-

take away the said Samuel Trevillian, and dispose thereof to my best advantage, remitting the proceeds thereof home in the best sweete scented tobacco in your owne and Mr Fassett's shipp, and wherein I have taken 30 hhd. certaine and five uncertaine if notice thereof be given in 10 daies, and it should have occasion to make use of any factor or merchant therein, the disposall of any concerne shall decide you therein if it may be convenient for you to make use of my friend and kinsman, Mr John Mohun, leaving what cannot sell on his hands. Mr Trevillian hath invoice hereof, which in case of his own mortality he hath promised shall be delivered to you.

Your friend,

Bernard Mitchell."

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 64. The following is from the *Records of General Court*, p. 146: "Judgment is granted Col. Daniel Parke Esq. against Mr Thomas Warren, commander of the ship *Daniel* in Virginia for payment of £29, 13sh, 2d, being for money due for goods of the said Parke damnified in the said ship in her late voyage from London, the money to be paid within 40 days upon her next arrival in England." Five other persons also suffered losses in the same voyage. See reference to the robbery of a sloop which had been sent in to a river landing with a cargo of goods taken from a vessel lying in the main stream. *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1680–1686, orders July 13, 1681.

[2] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, p. 112. In time of war the masters of ships were directed by law to seek certain places as safe harbors. A proclamation of Nicholson in 1691 named the following: "Upper James, Sandy Point; Lower James, Elizabeth River; Nansemund,

vision was expressly adopted that each ship plying between the mother country and the Colony should not only be furnished with mounted cannons, but should also keep on board men who had been trained in their use. At the time of the passage of this law, there was danger of pirates making an attack upon the vessels entering or leaving the mouth of the Chesapeake.[1] In 1684, a ketch was furnished by the English Government for the protection of the Virginian coast as well as for the arrest of illegal traders. Occasions arose when its assistance was very much needed; thus in 1699, the *Maryland Merchant*, while lying in the waters of Virginia, was seized and plundered by an unknown ship carrying thirty guns and manned by a large crew. The Governor took immediate steps to warn the people of Elizabeth City, Norfolk, Princess Anne, Accomac, and Northampton Counties of the presence of these dangerous outlaws. The commander of the militia in each of the counties named was instructed to appoint persons to keep watch along the shore, each one having a certain distance to patrol. As soon as there was reason to suspect the presence of pirates, information was to be given to the nearest commissioned officer, who in turn was at once to communicate with the commander of his district.[2] As late as 1692, Fitzhugh, considering the

above fort on Pagan Creek; Warwick River, above Sandy Point; York, as high as Colonel Bacon's; in Rappahannock, above fort in Corratoman River; in Potomac, in Wicocomico, and Matchatax, as high as they can; Eastern Shore, at Appomattox; rivers of Mobjack as high as the ships can go." *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1679–1694, p. 472.

[1] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 23, note.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 165. In *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1703, p. 306, will be found a proclamation of Governor Andros, instructing the naval officers of Virginia "to take all possible care to apprehend Capt. Kidd, who had recently seized a ship in the West Indies." In 1685, John Sherry of York was arrested and brought before court as having given comfort to pirates.

perils to which a merchantman was exposed both on the inward and outward voyage, declared that a person engaged in the Virginian trade might be worth one thousand pounds sterling to-day and to-morrow lose the last groat.[1] The policies ordinarily secured upon a cargo by its owner did not extend to the acts of public enemies. The insurance was five guineas upon every one hundred guineas' worth of goods.[2]

In the instances in which the English merchant owned the ship transporting his commodities to the Colony, the most serious charge which he had to meet was the wages of his captain and seamen, an item of importance on account of the length of the voyage, since the vessel not infrequently took a circuitous route, touching first at the Canaries, then at Barbadoes, and finally reaching an anchorage in the waters of one of the Virginian rivers.[3] The remuneration of the shipmaster was probably about nine pounds sterling a month;[4] that of a sailor in 1668 was thirty shillings for the same length of time.[5] There is an instance recorded in Lower Norfolk in 1680 in which a common mariner was paid only eight shillings. Fifteen years later, there was a second instance in the same county,

See *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 51, Va. State Library. In 1688, Edward Davis, Lionel Delawater, and John Hinson were seized at the mouth of the James, having a considerable amount of plate in their possession. They were arrested as pirates. *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 442.

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 21, 1692. In 1665, five hundred and eighty hogsheads of tobacco belonging to Thomas Sands were captured by the Dutch. See *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 83, pp. 115–117; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1686*, p. 10, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 360, Va. State Library.

[3] Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, vol. 1574–1660, p. 409.

[4] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders Jan. 2, 1692–93.

[5] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1666–1680, orders July 8, 1668.

in which a seaman received by the month two pounds and four shillings; a chief mate, four pounds; a ship physician and carpenter, three pounds and ten shillings respectively. In 1695, a suit was brought in Lower Norfolk for work performed on the vessel of Captain Phillips during the course of twenty-five days and twenty-four nights, at the rate of eighteen pence for each twelve hours.[1]

If the merchant was not the owner of a vessel, his principal expense in transporting his goods to the Colony was the charge for freight. The rates did not vary materially in any part of the seventeenth century. During the administration of the Company, the cost was three pounds sterling a ton;[2] in one case recorded, of that period, a rate of two pounds sterling was offered and accepted.[3] In 1649, the freight charge upon each ton was three pounds, and at this figure it remained.[4]

The seamen were far from being a class of men on whom reliance could be placed. As soon as Virginia acquired a very considerable population, there was a strong disposition on the part of many of the persons thus employed to desert their vessels upon their arrival in the Colony, and by 1690, the evil had grown to such proportions that a special proclamation was issued by Governor Nicholson with a view to suppressing it. In order to increase the vigilance of shipmasters, a bond with a penalty of one thousand pounds sterling was required of them that they would return all the sailors to England whom they had brought into Virginia. They were commanded to act with the utmost fairness to their seamen, who, in

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 104; original vol. 1695–1703, orders Jan. 16, 1695.

[2] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 172.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[4] Bullock's *Virginia*, p. 50.

case the contracts with them as to food and other necessaries were not faithfully performed, had the right to enter complaint with the nearest justice of the peace. Particular orders were published that no one should entertain a fugitive mariner, and that all ferrymen should refuse to set him over their ferries unless he could present a note from his captain showing that he had received permission to leave his ship. Any person could arrest him without warrant.[1]

Every vessel arriving in the Colony was compelled to show a cocquet upon pain of confiscation. It had also to pay certain duties imposed by law. What was known as the castle duty was established in February, 1631–32, at which time a fort at Point Comfort was in the course of erection.[2] This tax consisted of one barrel of powder and ten iron shot.[3] The fort was completed in the autumn of 1632, and the provision as to the amount of powder and shot to be delivered by every ship on its arrival was expressly renewed. In 1632, each vessel was made subject to the payment of one-quarter of a pound of powder and a proportionate quantity of shot for every ton represented in its bulk.[4] Three years after this enactment, the number of forts in Virginia had increased to five. The duty was now placed at fifty pounds of powder for every vessel

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial; McDonald Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 261, 262, Va. State Library.

[2] In addition to the castle duty, even the ships belonging to Virginians had to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* for entry, 2*s.* 6*d.* for license to trades, and 2*s.* 6*d.* for clearing. Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 387. The cocquet rates were a halfpenny per hhd. for all bills of lading not containing above 20 hhd.; twelve pence for every cocquet if exceeding that number. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 176; Letter of Governor Harris to Dorchester, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *McDonald Papers*, vol. II, p. 40, Va. State Library.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 218; *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 50, Va. State Library.

of two hundred tons and an amount in proportion for every ship of greater or smaller burden; a proportionate quantity of shot, match, and other material used in defence was also to be delivered.[1] The merchants of all classes complained of these charges as well as of the tax imposed for administering the oath of allegiance to each passenger who arrived in the Colony and for registering each hogshead sent out.[2] In 1643, the law of 1633 was reënacted.[3] The quantity of powder to be paid in settlement of the castle duty was in 1645 increased from one-quarter of a pound to one-half for every ton in the burden of the ship, the quantity of shot or lead being fixed at three pounds. As a means of ensuring a full collection of these articles, officers were appointed upon every river of importance in the inhabited parts of Virginia, who were to receive the duties in kind or in valuable commodities, and in case of collusion between the master of a vessel and the person in charge of a port, the recognizance of the latter was to be forfeited.[4] The change in the material in which the castle duties were to be paid, tobacco or whatever product formed the freight of the ship being substituted for powder and shot, and delivered not when the vessel arrived but when she departed, is to be ascribed to the fact that a few years before, these duties had, under an Act of the General Assembly, been appropriated to the Governor instead of going as before to the captains of the forts.[5] This change did not continue for many years. In the session

[1] Governor and Council of Virginia to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *McDonald Papers*, vol. II, p. 233, Va. State Library.

[2] Report of Sub-Committee for Foreign Plantations, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 122; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 29, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 247.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 301, 534. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

of 1661–62, the castle duties were again made payable in powder and shot at the rate of half a pound of powder and three pounds of leaden shot for every ton represented in the burden of each ship arriving. It was permitted, however, to a master of a vessel to settle these duties in money sterling or in bills of exchange.[1] Many owners of ships engaged in the trade with Virginia complained in the following year that it was a great hardship to require them to pay twelve pence as a castle duty upon every ton of merchandise they imported, and they petitioned that instead they should be allowed to deliver half a pound of powder and three pounds of lead towards the defence of the plantations.[2] This request apparently failed to receive a favorable response. In 1680, the amount which it was optional for the shipowners to substitute for powder and shot was fixed at one shilling and three pence a ton.[3] A tonnage tax of fifteen pence was imposed upon every vessel arriving in the Colony towards the end of the century.[4] A present of liquor or provisions to the Governor by the shipmaster on anchoring, which in the beginning was a mere act of courtesy,[5] came in time to be a recognized charge, amounting to twenty shillings on each vessel above one hundred tons and thirty shillings if under. Culpeper remitted the gift in consideration of the payment of its value in tobacco or coin.[6]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 177, 178.

[2] *British State Papers, Colonial Papers*, August, 1662; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1662*, p. 26, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 466.

[4] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 58. See Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 345.

[5] In 1667, Berkeley called the attention of Colonel Scarborough to the fact that the ships arriving on the Eastern Shore had not paid "their yearly presentation of wine," pretending that they had none. *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1664–1670, p. 63. Colonel Scarborough was the collector for the district. [6] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 73.

A complaint was raised in 1660 by the masters of merchantmen, that on arriving at the mouth of the James, they found no one to steer their vessels up that stream, and no beacons to mark the sites of shoals in its waters. With a view to removing the ground of this complaint, Captain William Oewin was appointed the chief pilot in James River, and to encourage him in the performance of the duty thus imposed on him, he was allowed the privilege of demanding five pounds sterling from the master of every vessel above eighty tons who engaged his services, and forty shillings from the captains who declined the offer. Every ship dropping anchor in the Roads was required to pay Captain Oewin a fee of thirty shillings. This was not so much of a gratuity as it appeared, since he was expected to maintain beacons at every point between Willoughby Shoals and Jamestown where navigation was dangerous. If these beacons were removed or destroyed, it was his duty to replace them before the expiration of fifteen days.[1] The successor of Captain Oewin was Captain Chichester, who was followed by his son. The position was filled by the latter during the time of the second administration of Sir William Berkeley, and during the whole of the official terms of Culpeper and Howard. In a petition presented to Governor Nicholson in 1691, he referred to himself as for a period of many years the only pilot in James River who was serving under commission from the colonial authorities. The duties of his office occupied his whole time and was his only means of livelihood. In order that there might be competent men at hand to take his place when he died or became disabled by accident or old age, he declared himself ready to instruct apprentices in the art of his calling and to inform

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 35. The spelling of the name is followed as given in Hening.

them as to all dangerous points in the waters in which he served as pilot.[1]

At an early period in the history of the Colony, strict laws were passed prohibiting the master or owner of a ship from breaking bulk before his vessel came to anchor off Jamestown Island. The object of these laws in the beginning was to put a stop to forestalling and engrossing commodities, as an evil especially injurious to Virginia because its population was so far removed from the source of manufactured supplies. In later times, the desire to promote the growth of Jamestown by making it the only port of entry was an important motive in the passage of the same class of Acts; and after the imposition of a duty on all liquors brought into the Colony, the determination to secure the full amount of the public funds arising from this tax, which could be done only by requiring all vessels arriving to hold their cargoes unbroken until the port of entry had been reached, was an additional reason for these enactments. As early as 1617, Governor Argoll instructed the masters of all ships dropping anchor at Kecoughtan to refuse permission to their sailors to go on land or to the colonists to come on board, as the mariners, when allowed to have personal intercourse with the people, obtained an opportunity of disposing of the goods consigned to persons in Virginia who happened to have died before the arrival of the ship.[2] It was provided in 1623, by an Act of Assembly, that as soon as a vessel reached anchorage at Point Comfort, an officer should go on board and read a proclamation directing that without the express permission of the Governor and

[1] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 82. There were in 1702 a number of authorized pilots in the Colony. See List of Public Officers for that year, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 363.

[2] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, pp. 140, 144.

Council, no part of the cargo was to be sold previous to the arrival of the ship at Jamestown, and this proclamation was ordered to be nailed to the mast as a means of giving it the fullest publicity.[1] The General Court, in 1626, adopted the rule that no one among the colonists should be allowed to enter a vessel on its way to that place without special license from the authorities. This was in strict conformity with the instructions received by Yeardley in the course of this year on his appointment to office.[2] That the provision was enforced is shown by the fact that in 1627, Michael Wilcox, a planter, was fined because he had gone on board of the *Charlie* while it was lying at anchor in James River and purchased twelve pounds of sugar.[3] So firmly resolved was the local government that no permission should be granted to shipmasters and owners to break the bulk of their cargoes, whether to sell in large quantities to a forestaller who might propose to take advantage of the necessities of the people, or to a person like Wilcox, who was only seeking to supply his private wants, that when the *Marmaduke* in 1626 ran aground below Mulberry Island, orders were given that no goods should be removed from her with a view to lightening the vessel for the purpose of floating her, unless the owners of these goods gave assurance that the merchandise, when removed, should be brought to Jamestown, without any effort being made in the interval to dispose of it by secret bargains and indirect sales.[4]

In 1632, the Act requiring that a proclamation should

[1] Lawes and Orders, Feb. 16, 1623, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 9; *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 98, Va. State Library.

[2] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 199; *British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book*, vol. LXXIX, p. 257; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1626*, p. 137, Va. State Library.

[3] General Court Orders, April 3, 1627, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 63.

[4] *Ibid.*, Dec. 18, 1626, p. 57.

be nailed to the mast of every ship arriving at Point Comfort in prohibition of all breaking of bulk before Jamestown was reached, was passed a second time, the penalty imposed for its violation being the forfeiture of the goods and the imprisonment of the captain for a period of four weeks.[1] This severity appears to have had no deterring effect upon the shipmasters and owners; they continued to make sales and contracts for the future disposition of merchandise, as their vessels pursued their way up the river. So notorious did this custom become that it was found necessary to assign an officer of the law to each ship arriving at the Point, whose duty it was to accompany the vessel placed under his supervision to Jamestown.[2] The instructions of Wyatt, when he was appointed to the governorship in 1638–39, and of Berkeley in 1641, when he was named for the same office, expressly directed them to prohibit the breaking of bulk before anchor was cast at that port. Berkeley was commanded to see that warehouses were erected there for the reception of goods upon their removal from the ships.[3]

In spite of these repeated provisions, there is reason to think that planters found their way on board of vessels in the river, for the purpose of making purchases, without any serious obstructions. In the fight which took place near Blunt Point between a Bristol frigate and two ships from London, the one being in sympathy with the cause of the King, the others with that of Parliament, the only person killed was a citizen of the Colony who had gone on board to buy merchandise.[4] It was impossible to enforce a law which produced such serious inconvenience.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 191. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

[3] Instructions to Berkeley, 1641, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers; McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 384, Va. State Library.

[4] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, p. 186.

Wishing to conform to the instructions from England, and at the same time recognizing their impracticability, the Assembly in 1661 passed an Act compelling all vessels after reaching Virginia to make entry at Jamestown, but granting their masters and owners the right to obtain a license to engage in trade in any part of the Colony.[1]

Previous to the appointment of collectors, the master of a ship which had just dropped anchor at Jamestown was expected to deliver to the authorities an invoice of the goods in his vessel when he reached Point Comfort.[2] At one time he was required to certify his arrival to the Governor.[3] When the rule compelling every ship discharging its cargo in Virginia to make entry at Jamestown fell into abeyance, it became the duty of the master to report his arrival to the officer in the waters of whose jurisdiction his vessel happened to stop, and his failure to do so exposed him to its seizure.[4] Much complaint arose at one time that the captains who were under the necessity of going to the home of this officer in order to make a legal entry, after incurring great inconvenience and serious expense in the journey, very frequently failed to find him.[5] This evil does not appear to have been corrected as late as 1689, the performance of the duties of the collectors being left to deputies.[6] In the session of 1692–93, it was provided by an Act of Assembly, that the officers who were empowered to enter all ships arriving in the Colony should either themselves or in the persons of their substitutes, reside in the places which had been named as

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 135.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 150, 151.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[4] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 67, Va. State Library.

[5] Reply of Burgesses to Howard, Oct. 9, 1685, *British State Papers, Colonial; McDonald State Papers*, vol. VII, p. 394, Va. State Library.

[6] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 59.

legal ports.[1] The fee for entering a vessel in one of these ports was the same as that for clearing, namely, fifteen shillings, if the vessel was twenty tons or less in burden, and thirty if it exceeded that number; this fee included the charge not only for making entry, but also for issuing a license to trade, and for taking the bonds required of all the shipmasters at this time.[2]

In 1671, Sir William Berkeley affirmed, in response to an inquiry made by the Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, that at this time no duty was imposed upon any article imported into the Colony.[3] This had not always been the case. Ten years previously, in consequence of the numerous diseases which, it was supposed, were produced by the free use of liquors among the planters, a tax of six pence had been laid upon every gallon of rum brought into Virginia by a vessel not owned entirely by its citizens, and the same provision was adopted with reference to pavele sugar.[4] This duty was not to become operative until 1663, and in the following year it was abolished on the ground that it raised a serious obstruction in the way of the prosperity of the general trade of the Colony.[5] It was, however, at a later date reimposed on rum, and was subsequently extended to wine, brandy, and other spirits. At first the amount was three pence a gallon, but this was increased in 1691 by a penny in the case of all liquors imported unless they came directly from England. No spirits were to be transferred from the ship to the shore until the duty had been paid, generally in the form of either money sterling or bills of exchange, to the officers appointed to receive it.[6]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 111. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 443, 444.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 516. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 128. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 88; Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 59. Special exemptions were allowed to Virginian importers who owned their ships.

After the revocation of the charter, the master or factor in charge of a cargo, on reaching Jamestown, was required to wait until ten days had passed before he should attempt to dispose of the goods in his care, the object of this provision being that the colonists should have full opportunity to learn of the arrival of the vessel and time to make a journey to Jamestown to purchase such parts of its contents as they wanted.[1] By the Act of 1633, all the commodities landed at that place to be bartered for tobacco had to pass through the hands of the storekeeper who had charge of the general warehouse at that point, a certain percentage being granted him in the exchange.[2]

The most careful regulations were adopted to prevent the forestallment and engrossment of merchandise after it had been landed and offered for sale. This was one reason, as has been shown, for the passage of the series of Acts requiring all ships that arrived in the Colony to keep their cargoes intact until Jamestown had been reached. One of the first measures of the Company after the election of Southampton to the treasurership was to instruct the authorities in Virginia to exercise unceasing vigilance in suppressing every attempt to buy up the great bulk of commodities with a view to raising prices to an exorbitant extent by anticipating the market.[3] In a dispatch to the Governor and Council, forwarded in the *Warwick* in 1621, the effort to monopolize the principal articles imported during the previous year, as a part of the supplies of the Magazine, was condemned with great severity on the ground that it not only restricted the profits of the joint stock by means of which these supplies

[1] General Court Orders, Oct. 13, 1626, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 55.
[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 221.
[3] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 561.

had been purchased, but also compelled the people to pay at high rates for goods which could have been bought at low rates if obtained directly from the Magazine itself.[1] Replying to these communications, the Governor and Council after reprobating the engrossing and forestalling of merchandise as wrong in themselves, firmly denied that they had been practised in Virginia.[2] When Wyatt was appointed to administer the affairs of the Colony, he came over with special instructions to put a summary stop to these forms of extortion, if they should be found to exist, and if not, to adopt measures which would prevent their arising.

The General Court passed an order in 1626, forbidding any person who had purchased goods in Virginia to dispose of them at prices higher than he had paid for them, under a penalty of five hundred pounds of tobacco; and in 1629, a second order of the same court fixed the penalty at an amount of that commodity representing three times the value of the articles sold.[3] In 1630, it was enacted that no one should be allowed to buy imported merchandise, whether on board ship or ashore, unless he intended to apply it to his own use, and if he found that he had purchased a greater quantity than he really needed, he should have the right to dispose of his surplus only at the rates at which he had acquired it. Goods were to be exchanged only on the basis of six pence for every pound of tobacco.[4] In 1622, a forestaller was legally defined as a man who had obtained, under the terms of a contract, actual possession of merchandise or right to its possession before it reached

[1] Company's Letter, dated September, 1621, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 245.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 369. They reprobated "ingrossing as horrible Treasone against God himselfe."

[3] General Court Orders, Oct. 13, 1626; General Assembly, Oct. 16, 1629, *Robinson Transcripts*, pp. 91, 96.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 150, 162.

Jamestown, whether introduced by land or by water. There were also included in the same category, all who used any subterfuge whatever for the purpose of enhancing the price of goods when offered for sale in the market or who prevented their transportation to market at all.[1] In 1633, the special articles in which it was thought advisable that there should be no forestallment by purchase from the importing merchant, were shoes, Irish stockings, and coarse woollen and coarse linen stuff designed to be converted into shirts and sheets for the use of servants.[2] The regulation prohibiting the acquisition of these articles for the purpose of reselling them, was held not to apply to persons who bought for the benefit of planters who resided in remote places; to such persons was granted the right to increase the amount of the purchase money by a margin of gain that would be sufficient to compensate for the risk and inconvenience attending the transportation of the goods; but they were to secure no merchandise except what had been specifically ordered by the planter.[3] In the course of the same year, it was provided by law that in buying such merchandise, tobacco should be rated at nine pence a pound, an advance of three pence over the price laid down three years previously.[4] In 1644, all the Acts for the suppression of engrossing were expressly repealed and the privileges of an absolute free trade in their business dealings with each other were allowed to all the people of the Colony.[5]

In the session of 1654–55, an Act was passed which established markets at certain points in Virginia;[6] every shipmaster was required to transport his cargo to some one of these markets under the penalty of being consid-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 194.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 210.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 296.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 413.

ered a forestaller according to the provisions of the laws of England. A few years later, the statute granting free trade to the colonists among themselves was reënacted, apparently indicating that the regulations for the suppression of engrossing and forestalling had again come into operation although at one time repealed.[1] In the instructions for the guidance of Culpeper when he became Governor, he was ordered to put an end to every form of these evils practised in Virginia, but he denied very emphatically that they had any existence in his jurisdiction;[2] notwithstanding this, the same command was repeated in the instructions given a few years later to Howard on his assuming the reins of administration. In the statement of grievances presented by the authorities of Northampton to the three commissioners from England who arrived after the collapse of the insurrection of 1676, it was declared that in this county, the engrossing of merchandise was carried on to such an extent as to prejudice the welfare of the community at large; an earnest petition was in consequence entered that no person should be suffered to purchase after the arrival of a ship a larger quantity of goods than he could pay for out of the proceeds of his annual crop.[3]

The importance in public estimation of the regulations as to forestalling, which involved engrossing, was shown as long as these regulations remained in the statute book by the penalties prescribed for their violation. For the first offence, the punishment was imprisonment during two months without bail; for the second offence, six

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 124. The reënactment of the repeal may have been simply a means of making still more public the abolition of all restrictions upon internal trade.

[2] Instructions to Culpeper, 1681–1682. Reply to § 56, *British State Papers, Colonial; McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 153, Va. State Library.

[3] *Winder Papers*, vol. II, p. 173, Va. State Library.

months; for the third offence, exposure in the pillory, forfeiture of goods and imprisonment for such a length of time as the Governor should decide to be proper.[1] The laws against forestalling between 1630 and 1640 were but a reflection of the same class of enactments in operation in England. As early as the session of 1631–32, the House of Burgesses ordered that the English statutes bearing on this point should be proclaimed and executed in Virginia.[2] There was, however, far greater need of such laws there than in the mother country, the very fountain of the manufactured supplies which were so essential to the welfare of the population of the Colony. The volume of goods imported by the English merchants could rarely in any one year have been much in excess of the requirements of the planters. A successful attempt to advance the rates of these goods by obtaining a partial monopoly in them, was an injury to the general community even in the years in which tobacco commanded the most remunerative prices. Whenever the crop was cut short, or the rates at which the planters were compelled to sell were too low to ensure a profit, the hardships resulting from engrossing and forestalling under the most favorable circumstances were greatly increased.

It was not, however, to the interest of the merchant that the laws against engrossing and forestalling should be strictly enforced. His object was to sell the goods which he had on board of his ship or which he had transferred to land under care of himself or factor, to the first person who offered tobacco of fine quality for them, and to him it was a matter of indifference at what prices the buyer subsequently disposed of them among the inhabitants of the Colony. The need of the people for merchandise might have been great enough to constrain them to

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 194. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

pass a law prohibiting the exportation from Virginia of articles once imported, in case the exporter and importer were different persons, — such a law was actually passed,[1] — and yet it would have been still to the advantage of the trader bringing in a cargo of commodities to sell them to the first person who was speculating upon the wants of the community. To be required to discriminate as to the individual purchaser was to impose upon the newly arrived merchant a burden of trouble and annoyance which was certain to render the law unpopular with himself and all the members of the class to which he belonged. What he desired was a free market, and the right to break the bulk of his cargo whenever a buyer appeared. All the restrictions upon the market and the buyer alike were finally abolished, not only because the quantity of goods imported increased enormously with the progress of the century, but also in consequence of the powerful influence exercised by the English merchants at home. Such an influence these men never failed to bring to bear when it was the question of removing some obstacle that diminished their profits by increasing their expenses, or which exposed them, in exchanging their commodities for tobacco, to grave inconvenience. When it was sought to establish a number of ports in Virginia by compelling traders to adopt certain places as their exclusive markets in the Colony, upon the penalty of punishment as forestallers if they disregarded the law to that effect, the undertaking resulted in failure, because it was opposed to the interests of this class. In claiming the right to land their cargoes at any point where purchasers offered, its members were simply adapting themselves to local conditions not to be disregarded without serious damage to all. The gain derived from a venture was moderate, even when they

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 519.

were at liberty to follow the course that was suggested by the topography of the country and the system of plantations. Restrictive laws merely added to the drawbacks inherent in the physical character of Virginia. Owing to the dispersion of the plantations along the rivers, merchants were already forced to seek their markets at private landings, often several hundred miles apart, by the water highway.

The person in Virginia to whom goods from England were consigned was not infrequently a merchant who owned a share in them, and who, therefore, in selling, acted rather as a partner than as a factor; the profits of a venture were often for this reason divided among several traders, only one of whom had either visited or resided in the Colony. As a rule, however, the factor, who, by the terms of the Navigation Act, must be a native or a naturalized subject of England, had no pecuniary interest in the cargo received by him beyond the commission on the sales. As early as 1639, this commission amounted to ten pounds of tobacco in the hundred.[1] In the latter part of the seventeenth century, the agent was entitled to ten per cent of that commodity passing through his hands, and five per cent of the goods. He was sometimes paid an annual salary.[2] Whether a native of Virginia or England, he derived his authority to act from a power of attorney drawn by the English merchant, acknowledged before an English notary and then forwarded to the Colony to be recorded in the county in which the factor was instructed to transact business.

[1] Report of Commissioners, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 15, I, II, III; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1639*, p. 71, Va. State Library.

[2] Petition of John Jefferies and Thomas Colclough, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers*, August, 1669; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1669*, p. 145, Va. State Library.

In order to avoid the complications certain to arise in case the latter died without any one having the legal right to represent the interests of his principal, a second person was authorized on the same occasion to take the place of the original agent in this emergency.[1] A failure to provide against such a contingency was frequently the cause of serious loss. In 1638, John Woodcock, an English merchant who traded with the planters, was compelled by the death of his factor in Virginia and his consequent inability to collect debts from the persons into whose hands his goods had been dispersed, to make application to the Privy Council for assistance in his predicament; to this application, a ready response was given, and instructions were sent to the Governor and Council to aid Woodcock in securing what was due him.[2]

A second instance may be given. In 1672, one of the factors of George Lee, an English merchant, died in Virginia indebted to his principal in a balance of seven hundred pounds sterling. His property passed into the hands of his mother, who appointed an attorney to take charge of it. The latter proceeded immediately to convert the whole estate into tobacco, which he was about to ship to his own consignee in England, when the General Court interposed with an order requiring him to transfer the entire quantity to a third person in the mother country, until the justice of the claim of Lee on the property of his deceased agent had been decided. To facilitate this, all the books of the factor containing his accounts with his principal were directed to be sent to England.[3]

[1] For an example, see *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 645, Va. State Library.

[2] Order of Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 123; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 31, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of General Court*, pp. 131, 132.

It not infrequently happened in the case of the death of a factor and the remarriage of his widow, if no one was appointed to act as his successor under a power of attorney from the owner of the goods, that the goods fell into the hands of the second husband, who very often showed no scruple in dealing with them as his private property. Such a case was that of Thomas Kingston, the agent of Thomas Cowell, who owned a plantation in the Colony about the year 1636. Kingston having died and his relict having become the wife of Thomas Loving, the latter at once appropriated the credits and merchandise of Cowell. Upon the petition of Cowell, Loving was required by the Governor and Council to take an inventory of the former's property in his possession, and to give bond in a large sum to hold it without further purloining it.[1]

Many of the factors proved themselves to be untrustworthy, and numerous suits arose in consequence of their defalcations. There were also many instances of controversies between the English traders and their agents, which were settled by boards composed of merchants residing in the Colony. The arbitrators appointed in the case of Lawrence Evans in 1638 were among the wealthiest and most prominent men interested in business in Virginia, including John Chew, Thomas Stegg, George Ludlow, and Thomas Burbage.[2] It was one of the conspicuous features of commercial intercourse with the Colony that an important portion of the dealings of

[1] Letter from Governor and Council to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial; McDonald Papers*, vol. II, May 12, 1639, Va. State Library. For a second instance, see *Records of General Court*, p. 59.

[2] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, Nos. 15, I, II, III; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 71, Va. State Library. Boards of Arbitration were often appointed by the General Court. An instance is given in *Records of General Court*, p. 61.

the persons engaged in it, whether living in Virginia or England, was transacted on a basis of credit, and many of the sales in consequence resulted in debts which it was found impossible to collect. This was a danger to which the trader was especially liable, not only in the early part of the seventeenth century when the population was still comparatively small, and when, as has been seen, there was a strong disposition among so many to move from one locality to another in search of virgin lands, thus enabling them to a large extent to evade their obligations, but also in the latter part of the century, when the older communities had become firmly established and their inhabitants as a mass fixed to the soil, with property that could be levied on without obstruction. A number of the planters were still disposed to shirk their debts and could only be trusted at a risk of loss. There were many instances of individuals among them who, having become deeply involved for advances of supplies, were induced to throw off the weight of their obligations by taking refuge in Maryland and so escaping the process of their creditors.[1] It was not improbably in consequence of this disposition to abscond on the part of debtors among the colonists, that the regulation was adopted that all persons residing in Virginia who decided to go on a journey or voyage beyond the boundaries of the Colony were required to put their intention on public record sometime beforehand, in order that it might become a matter of common notoriety.[2]

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Feb. 18, 1687.

[2] See *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1673–1685, f. pp. 14, 21, 93. Fourteen persons advertise in these particular references their intention to depart for England. In 1675, the General Court imposed a fine of 1000 lbs. of tobacco on a shipmaster who had carried out of the country a person who was unable to show a pass. *Records of General Court*, p. 216.

fluctuations in its price. It may be de
ket during one year, and twelve month
very high rates. This was true of tob
teenth century, as it is of the same
nineteenth. The Virginian planter i
century, however much discouraged a
the operations of one season, could ind
the following season would not only re
lost on the crop of the present year, but
the margin of a very handsome profit.
which had its justification in actual expe
make purchases on credit of goods from t
chants which the tobacco of the succeed
always enable him to cover, and a series
years not infrequently involved him in
from which it was difficult, and, in many
to extricate himself. The merchant doubt
view of the situation. It was natural t
be as sanguine as to the prices of fut
planter, and he sought to discount a p
depression twelve months later by sell

that time ;[1] this removed from the consideration received by the merchant in his sales that element of fluctuation which marked all valuation in the latter commodity from year to year. A large proportion of these sales were on credit in anticipation of the next year's crop. In the course of this interval, the price of the leaf might sink to a point which would not only leave him without a margin of gain, but even expose him to heavy loss. If his contract had been drawn in figures representing a fixed amount in money sterling, his profit would be independent of an advance or decline in the value of tobacco, and the same would be true if his running accounts were kept in the same form. As a means of ensuring ample security for the payment of debts due them for advancement of goods, many of the merchants required a purchaser to give a bill to be placed on record in the books of the county court where the transaction occurred ; in this document, he acknowledged the amount which he owed, accompanying the admission with a statement that the obligation was to be met in the succeeding autumn, when the tobacco crop had been got in. In case what was due was not settled, the creditor in the bill, that is to say, the merchant, could take possession of the landed property conveyed to him subject to the payment of the debt. If the crop in the autumn was sufficient to cover what was owed by the purchaser of the goods, he could claim a release in full.[2]

Another course followed by a merchant who had disposed of goods on credit was to insist that the purchaser should consent to a judgment in court in the amount of tobacco represented by his obligation, against all the property in his possession, and this judgment was enforced according to the provisions of a deed directing execution

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 216.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638-1648, pp. 63, 342, Va. State Library.

was due. These men, like the ordina
panied a cargo of goods, represented
than one trader. Merchants engage
branches of business seemed to have
same person.[2] The sea-captain espe
employed in this capacity, probably
greater cheapness of his services, as th
was thus saved. The agent was s
to collect all the debts due his pr
without regard to counties. In some
diction was confined to one county.
was authorized to collect from a singl
being the regular factor of the princip

By the provisions of a law passe
1657–58, the creditor was deprived of
the settlement of a debt on demand,
tobacco, except in the interval betwe

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p
See also *Records of General Court*, p. 171. In
Vaulx, merchant, purchased from Ralph Worn
tobacco for £200, and conveyed a large estate t

January 31st.[1] If he was a resident of the Colony, he could bring no suit upon accounts which had been running three years; if a non-resident, on none which had been running five.[2] A strong disposition was shown at an early date to protect the debtor in cases in which he was unable to settle in kind. If he had promised to do so in grain, tobacco, and other agricultural products, and his crops failed or were destroyed, it was in 1644–45 provided that he should give an inventory of his estate to the creditor, and the Commissioners of Court should decide what part should be delivered in payment of his obligations.[3] It was subsequently ordered that the valuation of the property of all persons who were imprisoned for debt and who were unable to settle in kind, should be made by two persons, one selected by the creditor and the other by the debtor, and whatever satisfaction they awarded should be final, and in case of a disagreement between the appraisers, the two next adjoining Commissioners should serve in their place.[4] In 1663, it was provided that the debtor when laid under execution should first swear that he was unable to pay either in tobacco or money sterling; that he should then render an estate thrice the value of his debt; and that if he had no movable property, he should give an inventory of whatever he possessed to the creditor, who was to be at liberty to choose according to his preference. Whatever he selected was to be appraised by four men, two having been named for that purpose by each party. If the whole estate was not sufficient to discharge the obligation, the debtor remained in prison;[5] from which it will be seen that the English law as to incarceration for

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 489. The creditor, however, could sue for security for the next year.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 296, 297.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 294.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 189, 190.

insolvency was in force in Virginia in the seventeenth century.[1]

All debts made out of the Colony and due to merchants who did not live within its boundaries were subordinated to obligations contracted in Virginia, provided the claim based upon the latter was brought forward before the expiration of twelve months. If, however, the factor of the trader who was a non-resident took the precaution, two months after he arrived in the country with goods for sale, to enter on record the name of his principal and the value of the merchandise in his hands as agent, the principal acquired thereby all the rights enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Colony. A debt for goods was not recoverable in Virginia unless they had been really imported, no relaxation of the rule being allowed in case they had been captured by an enemy or had gone down in a wreck while on the way.[2] It showed the tenderness of the authorities for the merchants who, towards the end of the seventeenth century, supplied the people with commodities, that not infrequently when a debtor had fled, leaving a crop in the ground, which, unless worked and protected would go to ruin, the county court instructed the planter who lived nearest to the spot to give the tobacco the proper attention, compensation for his trouble and loss of time being subsequently allowed him.[3]

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 212, Va. State Library. *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 464, Va. State Library. About 1690, the authorities of York County proposed to the General Assembly that after the first three months' imprisonment, the creditor should support his debtor in jail, if the latter had sworn that he was not in possession of property equal in value to the debt. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 132, Va. State Library.

[2] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 42.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 109, Va. State Library.

This spirit had not always been displayed towards the importing merchants. Their unconscionable dealings became at an early date the subject of legislative denunciation. To such a point were these exactions carried in 1628, that a large number of colonists, as we have seen, united in exporting their own tobacco to England and there exchanging it for the articles they required, instead of passing it into the hands of the English traders in return for goods at exorbitant charges. So great was the unpopularity of this class as late in the century as 1672, that during the course of the attack which the Dutch, then at war with England, made upon the fleet of vessels, which in that year were bound out of James River with heavy cargoes on board, the planters were not anxious to furnish assistance, alleging in excuse the oppressions of the owners of the cargoes.[1] The fault, however, did not lie entirely on the side of the latter. In the year 1632, when such a dearth of manufactured supplies prevailed in Virginia that vessels loaded with grain and tobacco had to be sent out to procure them from other Colonies, Captain Tucker, a leading trader, was accused of instructing his factors to sell only at the highest rates; this he denied, claiming that the planters were already deeply in his debt for goods advanced them, and that he was not justified in incurring the risk of additional loss, since there was already no profit in the prices at which his agents were selling.[2]

It was the most common ground of complaint against the merchants that they insisted on holding buyers to the payment of the quantity of tobacco agreed upon, notwith-

[1] Governor and Council to King, July 16, 1672, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. XXX; *Winder Papers*, vol. I, p. 285, Va. State Library.

[2] Governor Harvey to Lords Commissioners, May 27, 1632, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VI, No. 54; *McDonald Papers*, vol. II, p. 123, Va. State Library.

standing any rise in the price of that staple after the conclusion of the bargain. In such an instance, it was complained that the goods were sold at a more advanced rate than was anticipated. The course of events, however, might have worked in favor of the purchaser. Tobacco fell with as much rapidity as it rose. Articles to be paid for in so many pounds of that commodity in the following autumn might have been delivered when it was high, and before autumn arrived, might have fallen very low, entailing a heavy loss upon the trader. It is not likely that any complaint was heard from the planters in such a turn of prices as this.[1]

Accusations of deception were also brought against many of the merchants in regard to the weights and measures which they used. The perpetration of this species of fraud, not only by the traders, but by the inhabitants of the Colony in general, became so notorious that a special law was passed, declaring the English statute concerning that offence to be in force in Virginia. Whoever endeavored to cheat by the use of false stillyards was required to pay to the person whom he had sought to injure three times the amount of damage which he would have inflicted by his deceit.[2] As a further means of discouraging the repetition of acts of this nature, every county was required to provide at the public charge scaled weights of half-hundred, quarterns, half-quarterns, seven, four, two, and one pounds, and measures of ell and yard, bushel and half-bushel, peck and gallon of Winchester measure, pottle, quart, pint, and half-pint; and these standards were to be used by all persons who were

[1] King to Governor and Council of Virginia, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 47, *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1637*, p. 193, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 391.

not in possession of such as had been scaled or tried in England, upon the penalty of forfeiting one thousand pounds of tobacco. If the commissioners of the county, upon whom was imposed the duty of securing the proper measures and weights, failed to do so, they were to be fined five thousand pounds.[1]

The measures and weights to be found at the different county seats were procured from England. In 1665, Colonel Lemuel Mason and Major Thomas Willoughby were appointed by the court of Lower Norfolk County to enter into an agreement with a reliable shipmaster to import a full set of these instruments for use in that county.[2] This was doubtless the manner in which they were always obtained.

The Navigation laws undoubtedly had the effect of placing the people more in the power of the English merchants by restricting to the latter the right of importing into the Colony all of its foreign supplies. These laws went into practical operation after the Restoration, and perhaps raised the prices of imported goods in Virginia higher at first than they did afterwards, when the demand for its staple in the English market had increased, furnishing a larger field for its sale, and when British shipping had grown in volume, thus reducing the charges for freight. It was observed as early as 1657, that shoes, bought at the rate of twelve pounds of tobacco during the time the Dutch traders were introducing supplies into the Colony, could not be obtained after the passage of the first

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 89, 90. In 1678, the justices of Lower Norfolk County were indicted by the Grand Jury for not providing weights and measures as the law required. Original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 40.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1656–1666, p. 436. There are frequent references in the Records of York and Middlesex Counties to the public weights and scales. See, for instance, *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders Dec. 5, 1693.

Navigation Act, which, as has been seen, was enforced with great laxity, for less than fifty pounds, and it was claimed that the prices of all other commodities rose in proportion, even before the second Navigation Act had excluded the merchants of Holland altogether.[1] The Act of 1660 added sensibly to the dearness of imported articles, because it removed all active competition between the Dutch and English. The Dutch trader had enjoyed a great advantage over the English in being able to sail his ship at lesser expense, not only because the vessel had more room, but also because it was manned by a smaller crew.[2] Throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century, the people of Holland were larger producers of certain kinds of manufactured goods than the people of England, and were in a position to sell at lower figures. As long as English and Dutch merchants stood upon an equal footing in the Colony, the English had to conform to the prices of the Dutch in disposing of their cargoes in Virginia, and from this fact its population reaped a decided advantage in the purchase of their supplies. The exclusion of the Dutch signified that the English trader was restricted only by competition with men of his own nationality in fixing his prices. The protection of the inhabitants lay in the improvement in the methods of British navigation, and in the increase in the number of persons engaged in commerce with the Colony. That this number was able in the last part of the century to supply the demand for goods is shown in the answer made by Culpeper in 1681 to the authorities in England who had instructed him to suppress every form of forestalling and engrossing; he declared that he had never received a single complaint with reference to such forms

[1] *Public Good without Private Interest*, p. 14.

[2] Anderson's *History of Commerce*, vol. II, p. 216.

extortion; that they were not practised in Virginia; d that the Council were ignorant of the meaning of the rms.[1]

However small or large the gains of the foreign mer- ant, whether dealing with the inhabitants of Virginia means of annual vessels, the cargoes of which were ddled wherever on the various rivers purchasers could found, or sold through factors or agents who resided in e Colony, which was the usual course, the profit was suf- iently great to tempt most of the enterprising planters enter into trade on their own account. It was one of e most marked features of the economic life of Virginia the seventeenth century, that the leading citizens were gaged in more than one pursuit. The lawyers and ysicians were not only producers of tobacco, but also en speculators who bought a large quantity of that com- odity with goods or bills of exchange and shipped it to ngland to be disposed of by their representatives there. ; a period as early as 1637, George Menefie, who was erested in planting, described himself as a merchant the corporation of James City,[2] and he found distin- ished successors as traders in tobacco at a later day in tzhugh and Byrd, who have left minute records in their rrespondence of their different ventures. The authors the *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, referred to the neral class of merchants in the Colony as being simply untry chapmen, but this was true only to the extent at they supplied the wants of a rural and scattered pulation.[3] In 1687, it is stated that there were on all

[1] Instructions to Culpeper, *British State Papers, Colonial*, 1681–82; ly to 56th clause, *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 153, Va. State rary.

[2] Petition of George Menefie, Dom. Chas. I, vol. 323, pp. 136, 138, *nsbury Abstracts for 1637*, p. 207, Va. State Library.

[3] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 9.

of the navigable streams, from ten to thirty planters who had a part in this local trade,[1] and so considerable were the operations of these wealthy citizens in mercantile life, that Jones, who visited the Colony many years afterwards, affirms that they made as great and advantageous a business for the advancement of the public good as most merchants upon the Royal Exchange in London. He especially commended the "fair and genteel" way in which they carried on their transactions.[2] These merchant planters were men of the first consequence in the Colony, sitting not only as members of the House of Burgesses, but also as Councillors of the State and filling all of the higher offices. With few exceptions, the foundation of the great fortunes in lands, negroes, and live stock, which gave so much distinction to the leading families in the eighteenth century, had been laid in the seventeenth in largest part by trading in tobacco, in addition to cultivating that staple. The manner in which this trading was conducted is illustrated in many instances preserved in the letters of Colonel Fitzhugh. He was in the habit of contracting to deliver many thousand pounds of tobacco to the local representatives of an English merchant in return for so many pounds sterling worth of goods, and in case of a deficiency in the cargo he was to receive a certain amount of metallic money or a certain number of slaves and servants. The details of this arrangement had their counterpart, with some little variation, in the numerous bargains of other planters of the same period. Where such an agreement had been entered into with an English merchant, it was not uncommon to adopt the following plan in turning over the tobacco named in the stipulation:

[1] Colonel Quarry's Memorial, *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. VII, 3d series, p. 232.

[2] Hugh Jones' *State of Virginia*, p. 55.

as soon as the vessel arrived in Virginia, her master was handed notes for the delivery of one-third of her loading, these notes being honored at the rolling-houses where the tobacco was stored; when this part of the cargo had been taken on board, the planter was ready to give notes for the delivery of the second third, and so on until the whole amount had been stored in the ship. In many instances, doubtless, he was prepared to transfer the whole amount in one series of notes. In a case mentioned by Fitzhugh, he contracted to deliver ninety-two thousand pounds, one-third of which was to be obtained from his own estate, and the other two-thirds from rolling-houses in his vicinity. Ninety-two thousand pounds made up a cargo of two hundred hogsheads, which, according to the prices prevailing at that time, were worth seven hundred and seventy-six pounds sterling. One-half of this amount, Fitzhugh desired to be paid him in the form of merchandise suitable to the needs of the country.[1] In a letter to Captain Samuel Jefferson in 1685, he proposed to deliver fifty thousand pounds of tobacco, in return for which he was to receive goods amounting in value to three hundred and fifty-eight pounds sterling.[2]

In the early history of the Colony, merchant planters in many instances had residences and storehouses at Jamestown while holding and cultivating large estates elsewhere; this was the case with John Chew, Arthur Bayley, and Edward Sanderson. Some at this period, on the other hand, lived on their plantations and kept

[1] See a somewhat similar instance in the *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 177, Va. State Library, illustrating the use made of notes in passing title to tobacco stored in warehouses.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, Feb. 18, 1684–85. Fitzhugh, writing to John Cooper in May (18th), 1685, says: "I suppose this crop, if crops prove anything like, I shall be master of betwixt 500 or 600 hogsheads." *Ibid.*, May 18, 1685.

storehouses at Jamestown; this was the course followed by Abraham Piersey, the former Cape Merchant and the most prominent citizen in Virginia at the time of his death.[1] Very large areas of land were secured by men of this class in consideration of the importation or purchase by them of many servants and slaves. In 1688, George Menefie sued out a patent to three thousand acres on the basis of sixty head rights, and in the following year he acquired a patent to three thousand acres additional.[2] In 1684, Robert Vaulx and William Gooch obtained a patent to six thousand acres.[3] Thomas Stegg, William Byrd, and others who combined the pursuits of trading and planting, are found from time to time acquiring large grants. Many of the English merchants owned much land in Virginia, not only in individual holdings, but also in partnership with persons who resided in the Colony.[4]

The store was one of the principal institutions in Virginia, whether the property of a foreign or a native merchant. In the course of time, stores which at first were confined to the principal ports were found in great numbers on every navigable stream, this situation being preferred not only because the adjacent country was the most thickly settled and the planters the wealthiest, but

[1] An Account of Abraham Piersey's Estate, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VIII, No. 5, II; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1633*, p. 57, Va. State Library.

[2] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, pp. 691, 704.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1652–1655, p. 357. Similar instances are preserved in great numbers in the Patent Books.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 417. There are many instances in which English merchants devised by will estates in Virginia. See *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1893, p. 273. It is said that John Bland spent £10,000 on his plantations in Virginia. *British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book*, No. 80, pp. 51–59; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1676*, p. 235, Va. State Library.

also because the principal highways of each community were the creeks and rivers. The authors of the *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, complained that the stores were such important centres in each neighborhood that they had a powerful influence in repressing the growth of the towns, which it was sought to foster by legislation, and they suggested as the first step towards giving an impulse to the expansion of these towns that it should be required to build or keep open stores elsewhere.[1]

The store was sometimes a room in the house of a planter; this was true in the case of the store of Robert Hodges of Lower Norfolk,[2] and also of Newell's in York. Jerome Ham, who is described in the deed as "gentleman," in making a lease of his plantation in the latter county, refers to his dwelling-house, kitchen, and store, as if they were grouped very closely together.[3] The store was generally detached from the dwelling. It was probably as a rule a boarded house with a loft and with a shed.[4] In the towns, it was very often a rented building; this being the case with the one at Hampton referred to in the records of Elizabeth City County for 1694. The charge for its use was twenty-five shillings a month.[5]

Whether the store was owned by a merchant who resided abroad, and who therefore carried on business through the agency of his factor, or was the property of a wealthy planter[6] or a native merchant, the aim of the owner

[1] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 12.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 117.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, Newell, p. 139; Ham, p. 596.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 260, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 29, Va. State Library.

[6] "To all, etc., now know ye, etc., I give and grant unto Col. Richard Lee five acres of Land lying in the County of Gloucester towards the

was to supply the special goods demanded by the needs of the inhabitants of the Colony. To enumerate the contents of one of these establishments would be to name all the articles, with a few exceptions, in use in Virginia in the seventeenth century. A store in the rural districts of the State to-day is less of an epitome of the wants of the people in certain directions than a store in the valley of the James in the last half of the seventeenth century. In the present age, custom is diverted from the country store by the proximity of cities in which the best class of goods can be procured without difficulty, in person or by correspondence. It is true that in the seventeenth century, custom was diverted from the store by orders given to merchants in England, but these direct dealings with the mother country were practically restricted to planters engaged in trade or possessed of large wealth. It is not strange to find that cloths and garments made up the larger portion of the contents of the average establishment. In this respect, the inventory of the Hubbard store, situated in York County, which was taken in 1667, after the death of the owner, did not differ from others which either preceded or followed it. It contained lockram, canvas, dowlas, Scotch cloth, blue linen, oznaburg, cotton, holland, serge, kersey, and flannel in bales, full suits for adults and youths, bodices, bonnets, and laces for women, shoes for persons of both sexes, gloves, hose, cloaks, cravats, handkerchiefs, hats, and other articles of dress in use in that age. In addition, there was a large miscellaneous collection of goods, such as hammers, hatchets, chisels, augers, locks, staples, nails, sickles, bellows, froes, saws, axes, files, bed-cords, dishes, knives, flesh-forks, porringers,

head of Poropotank Creek, whereon the store of the said Col. Lee standeth, and is a part of a dividend which Peter Knight, merchant, deserted for want of seating." *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1655–1664, p. 47.

sauce-pans, frying-pans, gridirons, tongs, shovels, hoes, iron posts, tables, physic, wool-cards, gimlets, compasses, needles, stirrups, looking-glasses, candlesticks, candles, funnels, twenty-five pounds of raisins, one hundred gallons of brandy, twenty gallons of wine, and ten gallons of aqua-vitæ. The contents of the Hubbard store were valued at six hundred and fourteen pounds sterling, a sum which represented about fifteen thousand dollars in our present currency.[1]

The inventory of the store of Edward Phelps, taken in 1679, showed the same enormous disproportion of cloths and clothing as compared with other kinds of goods. There were for one item alone about six hundred and seventy-five yards of linen of many varieties, and also about three hundred yards of woollen, eighty-one pairs of stockings, fifty pairs of shoes, a large quantity of tape, gimp and thread buttons, felt hats, blankets, curtains, and valances. In addition it included many articles of a miscellaneous character, such as smoothing-irons, scissors, knives, bellows, frying-pans, pots, kettles, spoons, hoes, axes, files and adzes, curry-combs, saddles, nutmegs, mustard, soap, twenty-four thousand ten-penny nails, seventeen thousand six-penny, eight thousand double-penny, one hundred and nine pounds of shot, twenty pairs of fishing lines, and fifteen hooks for sheepsheads. The contents of this store were appraised at one hundred and ninety-four pounds sterling, or about forty-eight hundred dollars in our present currency.[2]

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 319, Va. State Library.

[2] The inventory of the personal property owned by Phelps at his death will be found in *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 172, Va. State Library. The special reference in the text is to the appraisement of goods "out of the store belonging to Mr. Edward Phelpes, Dec^{d}, in the possession of Mrs. Temperance Dun, delivered to Coll. Wm. Cole, one of the attorneys of James Wall, guardian to Edward Phelpes, an orphan

The contents of the store kept by Mr. Isaac Cullen, as the agent of John Harris and John Cooper, merchants of England, in 1675, were chiefly composed of canvas, cottons, hollands, kerseys, Scotch cloth, jeans, broadcloth, blue linen, tape, ribbon, thread, buttons, combs, hose, shoes, and other articles for wear. The inventory of this store also included a large number of kitchen utensils, tools for the workshop, and scales and weights.

The inventory of the store owned by Colonel Francis Eppes of Henrico, taken in 1678, discloses contents still more remarkable for quantity, quality, and variety. In the matter of linen, there were one hundred and twenty ells of dowlas, fifty-one ells of oznaburg, sixty ells of canvas, three hundred and twelve ells of holland, and eighty yards of table and napkin diaper. There was a large quantity of serge, red cotton, kersey, broadcloth, Spanish cloth, white duffield, rugs, blankets, bed-ticking, sixty-two pairs of shoes, yarn and worsted hose for women and children, brown and white thread, tape, lace, hoods, pins, buttons, bodices and sleeves, razors, knives, scissors, shears, steel tobacco-boxes, pewter salts, candlesticks, tankards, spoons, tin quart pots, sauce-pans, lamps, cullenders, pepper-boxes, lanterns, large and small fishing lines and hooks, wooden bellows and sifters, sieves, dishes, ladles and brooms, iron pots, chafing-dishes, frying-pans, shovels, spades, hoes, shares and colters, hammers, chisels, and augers, many thousand nails of all sizes, brass mortars, one barrel of powder, five barrels of shot, fifty pounds of sugar, half a firkin of butter, four pounds of ginger, and finally a small collection of books.[1]

in England, the last day of June or first of July, 1679." See same volume. See also *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 113, Va. State Library.

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 93, Va. State Library.

The store of Edward Lockey contained, in addition to the usual quantity of cloths and clothing, brass coat-buttons, a paper of hooks and eyes, andirons, sheep-shears, plough-chains, brass scales, and reap-hooks. Among the articles in the Foison store in Henrico were holland night-caps, muslin neck-cloths, silk-fringed gloves, silver shoe-buckles, embroidered holland waistcoats, two dozen pairs of white gloves, one lace cap, seven lace shirts, nine lace ruffles, holster caps of scarlet embroidered with silver and gold, gold and silver hat-bands, a parcel of silver lace, three yards of gold lace, and a feathered velvet cap. This storekeeper possessed at the time of his death eight buckskins and sixty-five doeskins. In the inventory of Edward Lockey, there were also three tanned doeskins.[1]

There were few storekeepers in the Colony who were not engaged in the Indian trade, the exchange of merchandise for furs, skins, and other goods being attended with large profits. Guns, ammunition, rum, blankets, knives, and hatchets were the articles in greatest demand among the tribes. It will be interesting to make some examination of the various regulations which were from the earliest period adopted to control this trade. In the session of 1631–32 all traffic with the aborigines was prohibited, whether carried on by public or private enterprise.[2] In the following year, an Act was passed providing that

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 260, Va. State Library. Additional instances of stores and their contents will be found in the inventories of Robert Beckingham of Lancaster (*Records*, original vol. 1674–1687, p. 33) and Robert Hodges of Lower Norfolk (original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 116). It may be mentioned as an evidence of the extent to which business was at this time conducted on credit, that the debts due Beckingham amounted to 193,420 lbs. of tobacco, and to William Travers to 151,072 lbs. *Records of Rappahannock County*, 1677–1682, p. 73. An interesting invoice of goods, that of Captain Robert Ranson, will be found in *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 368, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 173.

forfeiture of all his property and imprisonment for life should be inflicted upon any one who sold guns, powder, and shot to Indians or bartered these articles for their goods.[1] Previous to this time, it appears to have been the habit of many to purchase large quantities of cloth from the stores, and to exchange it for furs and skins, thus creating a dearth of this material, which led to much inconvenience and suffering among the planters; this trade was now forbidden unless the Governor had reason to know that the supplies of cloth to be found in the Colony could be diminished by partial withdrawal and dispersion among Indian buyers without trenching upon the needs of the people. A license, however, had to be obtained before this trade could be legally pursued.[2] Ten years later, the penalty for bartering guns, powder, and shot with the Indians was the forfeiture of his whole estate by the offender; if the commodities exchanged were ordinary goods, he was to undergo imprisonment for as long a period as the Governor and Council should consider his offence deserved.[3]

In 1656, the right was granted to every freeman to sell to the Indians any article not included in the list of those especially prohibited by law. It was still forbidden to exchange guns, powder, and shot.[4] In 1658–59, this regulation was abolished on the ground that the people of the neighboring plantations, both English and Dutch, were furnishing the aborigines with large supplies of weapons and ammunition. By this alteration of the law, the safety of the Colony, it was stated, was not diminished, and the profits acquired by barter with the Indians were very much increased.[5] It was soon found, however,

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 219.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 219.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 255.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 415, 441.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

that the trade in arms and ammunition filled the settlements with rumors of projected outbreaks, leading to widespread uneasiness; it was determined, therefore, to require every person engaged in this trade, which seems at this time to have been practically confined to beaver, otter, and other furs, to obtain a commission from the Governor of the Colony. The latter was admonished to grant it only to those who were known to be distinguished for integrity, and who in consequence could be relied upon not to abuse the privilege.[1] This Act seems to have been disregarded to a great extent, many unlicensed men continuing in a secret way to trade with the Indian tribes. To suppress this evil, it was provided that every uncommissioned person discovered dealing with the aborigines should forfeit treble the value of the articles which he obtained under these circumstances. All controversies between the Indians and the commissioned traders were to be settled by the Governor, or an arbitrator whom he should appoint for the purpose.[2]

The importance of the Indian trade was shown as early as 1662, by the report of a committee which at that time sat upon Indian affairs. This committee, finding that the traffic of the Virginians with the aborigines was seriously injured by the encroachments of the English and Indian inhabitants of Maryland, as well as of tribes residing further to the north, recommended that measures should be adopted to put a stop to this system of bartering on the part of these strangers, and in pursuance of this recommendation, a prohibitory law was passed.[3] The exchange of arms and ammunition for the commodities of the Indians was again expressly interdicted in 1665.[4] The punishment now prescribed was a fine of ten thou-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 20.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 140.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 215.

sand pounds of tobacco or imprisonment for two years, and if the offence was committed a second time, it was to be considered a felony. It was found later that far more severe steps had to be taken for the strict enforcement of the statute. In March, 1676, when the prospect of an Indian war was imminent, it was provided that all who supplied the aborigines with arms, powder, and shot should not only forfeit their whole estates but suffer death in addition. The only persons allowed to furnish friendly Indians with match-coats, hoes, and axes were such as had been nominated by the county courts.[1] One of the first of the laws passed by the Assembly controlled by Bacon made all trade with the aborigines illegal unless they were serving in the war with the English, in which case also no weapon or ammunition was to be given them.[2] In the following year, the right of absolute free trade was granted to the Indian population of the Eastern Shore,[3] and a year later there was a relaxation of the rule forbidding all commerce with the tribes of the Western Shore, since it had been found highly injurious to the inhabitants of the Colony. Certain places were now appointed as public marts, to which all Indians who were at peace with the whites were invited to come at a specified time. These marts were situated respectively in Henrico, Isle of Wight, New Kent, Rappahannock, Lancaster, Stafford, Accomac, and Northampton, and were to be open in March, April, and May, and in September and November, the occasion for each being restricted to a day in one of the spring months and a day in one of the autumn. For each mart, an account of all the trading which took place there was kept by a clerk appointed by the Governor. The Wicocomico Indians in Northumberland

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 337. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 350, 351.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 403.

and the Cheskiack in Gloucester were to be permitted to trade with the English under special regulations adopted by the authorities of the counties in which they resided.[1] Three years subsequent to the passage of this Act, the rules it laid down were found to be the source of so much inconvenience that all obstructions to an absolute free trade with the friendly tribes were removed and the colonists were left at liberty to exchange commodities with them wherever and whenever the interests of both sides dictated. This rule was to remain in force only until the next Assembly convened, but in a few years it was reënacted in still more explicit terms. It was made "lawful for all persons at all times and at all places to carry on a free and open trade with all Indians whatsoever."[2]

No description of the mercantile condition of Virginia in the seventeenth century would be complete without some reference to the repeated but unsuccessful attempts to establish regular markets in the Colony. The fair was one of the oldest of the trade institutions of the mother country, having its origin and principal encouragement in an age when population was sparse, and when it was therefore necessary to have fixed occasions on which people could come together from a distance and exchange their products. The introduction of the fair into Virginia would have been natural not only on account of the commercial traditions of the inhabitants as scions of the English stock, but also because of the scattered population of the Colony. In 1649, it was decided to hold markets every week at Jamestown, which was one form of the English fair. These markets were to be restricted to Wednesdays and Saturdays. The boundaries of the market-place were to be carefully laid off. Execution was to issue upon any written and properly attested evidence

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 410–412. [2] *Ibid.*; vol. III, p. 69.

of debt that had been drawn in proof of a bargain entered into in its limits at any time between eight in the morning and six in the afternoon without the usual requirement of first obtaining judgment. The clerk was to record, in a book to be provided for the purpose, every bond, bill, or other writing passed in a sale, and if the amount represented in a bargain exceeded three hundred pounds of tobacco, his fee was to be four pounds, and if under that figure, one pound. Ground seems to have been assigned for the site of this market-place.[1]

In 1655, the Assembly determined to establish one or more market-places in each county, to be situated in the neighborhood of a river or creek, with a view to greater accessibility. Here all the trade of the country was to be concentrated; the articles imported from England or elsewhere were to be brought to these points from the ports prescribed by law; and if the owners of such articles disposed of them without having done this, they were to be punished as forestallers. They were, however, left at liberty to sell their goods in any one which they preferred. All were to be kept open on certain days, but there was to be no conflict between the days of adjoining markets. The court-house, the prison, the offices of the clerk and sheriff, and, as far as possible, the churches and ordinaries of each county, were to be erected in the circuit of its market. When merchandise had been in the country for a period exceeding eight months, the owner could dispose of it wherever he wished without exposing himself to punishment as a forestaller.[2] It is a curious commentary upon

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 362. See *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 397, 414.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 412–414. The following is from the records of Lancaster County under the date of 1655: "Whereas the western side of Currotoman River was only mentioned the last June Court for a market-place, and that by the Act for Stores the market-place might be on both sides of a small river if it is convenient for the inhabitants, it is ordered that

the provisions of this elaborate statute that only two years after its passage, the Assembly passed a second Act declaring that whoever established a market, "whether the merchants shall come for sale or not," shall be looked upon as a public benefactor; a tacit confession that the previous law, like all laws restricting the action of the traders, had proved a failure.[1] The instructions given to Culpeper in 1679, to establish markets and fairs in the Colony, seem to have come to nothing. All endeavors of the kind were likely to have the same end, not only because they were opposed to the interests of the merchants but also because of the configuration of the country, which was unfavorable to any concentration of the population, even of the same parts, for however brief a time.

the said market-place extend also from the eastern side of the said river downwards two miles according to the said Act." *Records*, original vol. 1652–1657, p. 214.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 476.

CHAPTER XVII

MANUFACTURED SUPPLIES: DOMESTIC

In describing the influences which led to the colonization of Virginia by the English people, it was pointed out that among the objects sought to be secured by that memorable enterprise were not only the acquisition of a virgin territory in which might be produced those raw materials that England was compelled to purchase at a heavy expense, and with a constant risk of interruption, from the Continental nations, but also the creation of a new market in which she might dispose of an enormous quantity of merchandise of her own manufacture. These two anticipations were closely related to each other. The principles they represented were the corner-stones of the famous mercantile system, which formed the commercial policy of the English Government from the beginning of the sixteenth to the close of the eighteenth century. The planters in Virginia were expected to export their raw materials to England, and in return to receive from the mother country the various supplies required. The exclusive attention given to tobacco from the earliest period in the history of the settlement defeated one of the leading purposes for which it was founded; that is to say, the new Colony failed to furnish England with the commodities which she had been exporting from Russia, Sweden, Holland, France, Spain, and the East. It will be remembered that the exportations in question left the

balance of trade constantly in favor of these countries. The amount of English goods which they took in exchange was insignificant, and as the difference in the balance in trade was paid in coin, there resulted a condition which in that age appeared full of danger to English interests. The persistence with which the Virginians continued to cultivate tobacco occasioned keen disappointment to English economists in the early part of the seventeenth century, as it destroyed all prospect of the Colony's furnishing a remedy for this supposedly unfortunate state of trade by presenting a field where England would be able to procure the raw materials which she required in exchange for her manufactures, without the need of passing a single pound sterling in addition.

While Virginia did not fulfil the hope that had been entertained as to its ability to furnish the English people with the supplies exported hitherto from the continent of Europe, the expectation that it would form a valuable market for the sale of English merchandise was soon found to be just. That the Colony was in a position to purchase this merchandise was to be attributed not to shipments of iron, timber, potash, hemp, silk, and the other commodities which English statesmen had at one time so confidently looked forward to obtaining from its soil, but to shipments of tobacco, a product which, in the beginning, the English Government had sought strenuously to discourage, and had afterwards striven hard to monopolize, at first unsuccessfully but successfully later, when, by the terms of the Navigation Act of 1660, it became an enumerated article.

The same commercial principle influencing the English authorities to use every means at their command to prevent the diversion to Holland and other foreign countries of the tobacco produced in Virginia, also impelled them

to repress all efforts on the part of the colonists to manufacture their own clothing and other supplies equally necessary. The Dutch did not pay for the cargoes which they purchased of the Virginians in coin or bills of exchange, but in merchandise of various sorts. Every coat worn by the planter, every dram of spirits consumed by him, which had been obtained by means of tobacco from traders of Holland, diminished to that extent the value of the Virginian market for English goods; and to an equal extent, the value of that market was diminished whenever the planter substituted for the suit which he was able to buy of the English merchant, a suit woven, cut, and sewn by members of his own family. To promote or allow the growth of the manufacturing spirit in the Colony was as dangerous as to refuse to interfere with the exercise on the part of its people of the right of absolute free trade. In time, they might not only meet their own needs as to manufactured goods, but also export such goods to countries where England now enjoyed a profitable market, a market which might soon grow unprofitable to her by rivalry with Virginian competitors, since the latter would possess the advantage of cheaper raw materials as the basis of their manufactures. For these reasons, it appeared to be of vital importance to the English statesmen of the seventeenth century that the planters should not be allowed to take steps looking to the development of manufacturing interests among them, and it cannot be said that their views were wholly untenable. To permit the colonists to export their agricultural products to any foreign country and at the same time to foster manufactures in Virginia, was to destroy all the ties except those of race uniting England to the population of that territory; upon her would have been imposed the burden of defending the planters in case of

an attack by a foreign enemy, without any proportionate advantage.

The mercantile system bore less hardly on Virginia than on New England. Her soil was capable of producing a commodity which found a remunerative market in the mother country, whereas New England was thrown back upon her agricultural products, which it was impossible after 1650 to import into England on account of the heavy duties then imposed to protect the English farmer from foreign competition. The inhabitants of New England were, therefore, compelled to exchange their provisions for the rum, sugar, and molasses of the West Indies, as almost their only resource for obtaining the means of paying for the English manufactures needed by her people. Virginia having a direct trade with the mother country in a commodity for which a market was always ready there, a commodity that assured the acquisition of all manufactured articles entering into the general economy of her population, was deprived of one of the strongest motives in which the development of manufactures has its origin. Such development begins with local wants, and growing larger and more extensive in its scope, ends in supplying foreign needs. The Virginian planter was not forced, like the farmer of New England, to transfer his products to Barbadoes and Jamaica to be exchanged for the products of those islands, which in turn were to be conveyed to the English ports, there to be sold to obtain the clothing which he was to wear, the furniture which he was to place in his chamber and hall, the utensils for use in his kitchen and dairy, the tools for handling in his workshop, and the implements which he was to employ in his fields. The English ship that sailed up to his wharf came loaded down with a cargo of these articles, which were offered to him for his tobacco; and he had

merely to consign his crop to the sailors who manned the vessel by the temporary transfer of the keys of his barns. When he sold, not to the owner of the ship, but to the local merchant who had supplied him with goods, the process of delivery was equally free from complication and indirectness. From this, it will be seen that the Virginian planter of the seventeenth century had but a small inducement to begin or promote a movement in favor of local manufactures on a scale of great importance, even if we suppose that the influence of all the economic interests of the mother country would not have been set against such a movement.

There was no inherent repugnance in the English stock transferred to the valleys of the James and York, to the pursuit of manufactures, although they leaned, like men of their race in the mother country, towards an agricultural life. They became an agricultural people by force of the conditions surrounding them from the foundation of the earliest settlement. The power of the English Government was used to divert their attention from manufactures even in the rudest form; many influences united to discourage the growth of manufacturing interests in the Virginian Colony as in all other colonies, however populous, but even if the English authorities had sought to advance the prosperity of these interests in Virginia in the seventeenth century, and the local conditions had been favorable to a manufacturing spirit, there would doubtless still have been reason to remark upon the disinclination of the people to produce their own manufactured supplies without any assistance from the outside. In the long period between the close of the Revolution and the breaking out of the late war between the sections, when all restrictions upon the growth of manufactures had been removed, the State remained a

community of plantations, although so much of the fertility of the soil had been exhausted. In the seventeenth century, Virginia was still more distinctly a plantation community, a community of small principalities bound together by social ties, but not economically dependent upon each other. There was always a tendency in each plantation towards still greater concentration of its special interests, because the requirements of tobacco culture exercised an unceasing influence towards the enlargement of the boundaries of each estate, thus increasing its isolation from the community in general. One of the principal effects of the seclusion of plantation life in Virginia resulting from the enlargement of the plantation area, was to discourage the growth of the coöperative spirit among the people in their economic affairs. It is this spirit upon which manufactures in their perfected form must rely in great measure for support. The lack of this spirit explains to some extent the absence of small towns in the Colony in the seventeenth century, but this fact, as will be shown hereafter, was also due to the configuration of the country, which was opposed to a concentration of population. Such a concentration, of course, would have been highly favorable to manufactures. Beverley, who indulged a spirit of exaggeration to some extent, writing towards the end of the seventeenth century, when the English had been in possession of the country for nearly a hundred years, reproached the inhabitants not only for their slovenly and wasteful system of agriculture and their neglect of many products to which the soil was adapted, but also for their strong indisposition to supply themselves by local manufactures with a larger proportion of those articles which they had, from the foundation of the first settlement, been obtaining by importation from abroad. The Virginians, he said, sheared their sheep only to cool

them. There was little thought of the clothing into which the fleeces could have been converted. The head covering of the Virginians was made of fur which had been sent to England from the Colony for working up, and then returned in the shape of hats to be sold or bartered at a great advance on the cost of the raw material. A large quantity of the hides which were a part of the annual production of every plantation were thrown on the ground to rot, or were used to protect goods from the rain dropping through the leaky roofs. Some of the hides, it is true, were manufactured into shoes, but the process was so carelessly and rudely performed that the planters bought English shoes in preference whenever the opportunity presented itself. Although the forests of Virginia furnished varieties of woods which in delicacy of grain and durability of fibre were peculiarly suitable for the manufacture of every kind of woodenware, nevertheless the inhabitants of the Colony persisted in obtaining from England their chairs, tables, stools, chests, boxes, cart-wheels, and even their bowls and birchen brooms.[1]

Regarded from a general point of view, these criticisms of Beverley were not unjust. Virginia in the seventeenth century was not, in the modern sense of the word, a seat of manufactures, but it would be grossly inaccurate to say that manufactures in the ruder forms were totally unknown. Such a condition of affairs would have been wholly inconsistent with the peculiar spirit of the plantation system, that system which tended to create in each estate its own source of supplies as far as a crude skill could create it. English manufactures began in the home; there were few dwelling-houses in the rural parts of England in the seventeenth century which did not con-

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 239.

tain a spinning-wheel or a weaver's frame.[1] The busy hum of the one and the measured rattle of the other were heard in nearly every household. How natural then to expect to find in the homes of the Virginians of the same period — men and women, who, in many instances, had been born in the mother country and who clung to the habits as well as to the traditions of their race — rude appliances for the plainest manufactures to cover their simplest material needs. That such appliances were to be found there, will be shown in the proper place.

Let us first inquire into the condition of the mechanical trades in the Colony. The white mechanics of Virginia in the seventeenth century can be divided into two distinct classes. First, there were those who as servants were bound under the terms of their contracts for a certain number of years; secondly, freemen who were skilled in the use of tools and who were prepared to perform any work pertaining to their trade which was given them to do. The class of indented tradesmen was the largest of the two, being recruited from abroad or from among the natives of the soil. There were not, however, as strong motives to influence the handicraftsmen of England to emigrate to Virginia as servants, as existed in the case of its agricultural laborers. The English mechanic belonged to an order enjoying special privileges by the force of legislation; he was carefully trained in his particular craft by an apprenticeship that admitted him into a close corporation, the number of the members of which was not sufficiently great to diminish seriously his chance of obtaining work, by raising up many competitors. If he was skilled in his calling and sober in his conduct, there was little danger of his being thrown upon the parish

[1] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, Vol. V, pp. 551, 587.

even for a partial support. The great body of the laboring classes of England in the seventeenth century, whatever their grade or pursuit, very naturally preferred to remain in their native country, and when they emigrated to America, they were perhaps moved by a desire to escape from intolerable evils as much as by a hope of securing an independence.

Virginia was well known to be essentially an agricultural community. In seeking a new home there, the English agricultural laborer expected to change his skies but not his employment. On the other hand, to the English mechanic who was able to support his family by following his trade, the advantages offered by the Colony were comparatively small unless he wished to adopt agricultural pursuits. There were mechanics in the mother country, however, who were either discontented with the degree of success which they had won, or who were swayed by a restless disposition or tempted by liberal offers. To such men, Virginia extended the prospect of an improved condition of life and they readily assented to proposals to try their fortunes there, first as handicraftsmen bound to service by indentures, and after the expiration of their terms, as planters and handicraftsmen combined.

The necessity of introducing mechanics into the Colony was recognized from its foundation. Among the band of men who made the voyage to Virginia in 1607, there were four carpenters, two bricklayers, a blacksmith, and a mason.[1] The persons who were sent over in the First Supply included a cooper and a blacksmith.[2] Fourteen artisans were imported in the Second Supply. From time to time, the Company issued advertisements for the purpose of securing members of the different trades. In one of these public papers, there were enumerated brick-

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 94. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

makers, bricklayers, masons, wrights for water and iron mills, founders, makers of edge tools, shipwrights, carpenters, calkers, coopers, tanners, shoemakers, and tilemakers.[1] Previous to the departure of Gates and Dale from England, a broadside was published, in which special inducements were offered to carpenters, smiths, coopers, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, and brickmen, among others, to emigrate to Virginia as a part of the expedition to set out at an early day.[2] In the account of the population in 1616, the only tradesmen referred to were smiths and carpenters, indicating that either the advertisements had not been generally successful in persuading English artisans to settle in the Colony, or if representatives of the different crafts had gone over, a great majority had been absorbed in the body of the agricultural laborers, there being no field for the employment of their skill.[3]

Argoll seems to have been disposed in the early part of his administration to adopt measures to promote the welfare of the trades; all mechanics were relieved by him from the operation of the provision that the tenant should cultivate two acres in grain under penalty of forfeiting their crops, and of being reduced to slavery in the public service.[4] In the instructions received by Yeardley on taking charge of affairs in 1619, he was directed to allot to every tradesman who decided to follow his handicraft in preference to engaging in husbandry, a tract of four acres. This area of ground, upon which a dwelling-house

[1] Tradesmen to be sent to Virginia, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 469. It is stated that when Smith withdrew from the Colony in 1609, there was but one carpenter left among the settlers. See *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 486.

[2] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 445.

[3] Rolfe's Relation, see Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 107. The "etc." in the text of the Relation may include the other artisans.

[4] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 143.

was to be erected, was to be conveyed in fee simple, subject to a quit-rent of four pence.[1] In a petition drawn by the First Assembly which met in Virginia, for presentation to the Company in England, it was urged that steps should be taken to dispatch workingmen to the Colony who should be competent to erect the projected college building, an indication that there were few mechanics among its population at this time.[2] In compliance with this request apparently, a committee appointed by a Quarter Court, sitting in London in this year, recommended that smiths, carpenters, bricklayers, brickmakers, and potters should be transported to Virginia to be set down on the lands assigned to the college.[3] That the number of the mechanics still remained unequal to the demand for their services is shown by the letter, addressed to the Company in the winter of 1622 by the Governor and Council, stating that it had been decided to erect an inn at Jamestown for the accommodation of persons who had just arrived, but that it was first necessary to secure from England, carpenters, brickmakers, and bricklayers. There was, the colonial authorities declared, a great lack of such useful tradesmen, although all persons engaged in these pursuits were remunerated at a generous rate.[4] A few months subsequent to the transmission of this letter, Leonard Hudson, a carpenter, accompanied by five appren-

[1] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. II, p. 160. In 1619, Rolfe expressed regret that there were at that time no carpenters in Virginia to make carts and ploughs. See *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 541.

[2] Lawes of Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 16.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 12.

[4] Letter of Governor and Council, January, 1621-22, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 284.

tices, was sent to Virginia by the East India Company, which had undertaken to establish an English free school at Charles City. These mechanics were placed among the tenants on the college lands, and in a short time four of them perished from the effect of the change of climate.[1]

The necessity of importing mechanics belonging to a variety of trades did not cease with the existence of the Company. In 1638, many years after the dissolution of that organization, when a levy of tobacco was raised for the purpose of erecting a State House at Jamestown and putting the fort at Point Comfort in good repair, George Menefie, a prominent merchant in the Colony, was instructed to visit England, and, with a part of the tobacco procured by the levy, engage men who were skilful in building such work.[2] It was one of the most serious drawbacks attending the employment of the indented servant, that, save in the case of youths, the term was too brief to admit of education in a mechanical trade. Landowners of wealth sought to overcome this difficulty by instructing their English merchants to forward to Virginia the mechanics whom they needed. Colonel Byrd not infrequently directed his correspondents in England to send him a carpenter, mason, or bricklayer, to take the place of one whose term was rapidly drawing to a close, and he always expressed a willingness under these circumstances to pay a larger sum than was usual in the instance of the ordinary servant.[3] Fitzhugh made similar requests of his English merchants, declaring, like Colonel Byrd, his readiness to go to extraordinary expense to obtain English mechanics, on the ground that he lost heavily

[1] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, pp. 309, 374.

[2] These instructions will be found in *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5.

[3] *Letters of William Byrd*, Feb. 25, 1683; May 31, 1686.

in employing the tradesmen who were to be obtained in the Colony.[1]

The indentures which the planters and these imported mechanics entered into doubtless differed from each other in some details, although substantially alike. The agreement by which the services of Gerrard Hawthorne were secured was probably a typical one in its principal features. Hawthorne bound himself by covenant to serve Thomas Vause in Virginia for a period of three years, in consideration of which Vause agreed to pay the charges for the transportation of Hawthorne to the Colony, and to allow him after his arrival there sufficient food, lodging, and clothing; to provide him with tools for working in the combined trades of carpenter, joiner, and cooper; and at no time to make an assignment of him to other persons without his own consent. On the expiration of his term, Vause was required to make over to him a full title to the bedding, furniture, and tools which had been in his use in the course of his service, and also to convey to him a tract of land equal to fifty acres in area. Moreover, for the length of twelve months succeeding the close of his period of service, Vause agreed to continue to supply Hawthorne with food, shelter, apparel, and all other necessaries.[2] The

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, June 7, 1681. In 1673, a carpenter, who was under articles of indenture to Samuel Trevillian of York County, was valued at eighteen pounds sterling. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 59, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 366, Va. State Library. The length of the terms for which these imported mechanics were engaged varied widely in different cases. John Graves of Brackley, Northamptonshire, entered into a contract with Richard Kitchener of York County for four years only. At the end of that time, he was to own his working tools. Graves was forty years of age. See *Ibid.*, vol. 1694–1702, p. 238, Va. State Library. William Birch of London bound himself to Mr. Edward Wyrly of the same city, with a view to his transportation to Virginia, for seven years. See *Ibid.*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 356, Va. State Library.

liberal provisions of this indenture reveal not only the great anxiety of the planters to secure English mechanics, but also the difficulty of obtaining them without extending the most powerful inducements.

The English mechanic emigrating to the Colony under indenture often brought tools with him which had been bought at the request of the planter in Virginia by the merchant acting as intermediary.[1] The constantly recurring necessity of having to supply the place of a white mechanic whose term was drawing to a close by importing a successor, must have had an important influence in causing the planters to have their slaves instructed in trades. The county records of the seventeenth century reveal the presence of many negro mechanics in the Colony during that period, this being especially the case with carpenters and coopers. This was what might be expected. The slave was inferior in skill, but the ordinary mechanical needs of the plantation did not demand the highest aptitude. The fact that the African was a servant for life was an advantage covering many deficiencies; nevertheless, it is significant that large slaveholders like Colonel Byrd and Colonel Fitzhugh should have gone to the inconvenience and expense of importing English handicraftsmen who were skilful in the very trades in which it is certain that several of the negroes belonging to these planters had been specially trained. It shows the low estimate in which the planters held the knowledge of their slaves regarding the higher branches of mechanical work.[2]

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, June 7, 1681.

[2] Among the slaves of the first Robert Beverley was a negro carpenter valued at thirty pounds sterling (see inventory on file at Middlesex C. H.). John Carter, Jr., of Lancaster owned a negro cooper (see *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 24). Ralph Wormeley of Middlesex County owned both a negro cooper and a negro carpenter, each being valued at thirty-five pounds sterling (*Records of Middlesex*

In the class of mechanics who were serving terms under the provisions of formal indentures, there must be included the numerous orphans and indigent children who were bound out to acquire proficiency in crafts.

In 1656, it was provided that all orphans whose estates were not sufficient to meet the expense of their free education, or whose kinsmen or friends were unable to furnish them support, should be instructed in the mysteries of manual pursuits until they reached their majority. Sixteen years later, the county courts were empowered to apprentice the sons of poor men to tradesmen up to the age of twenty-one, and to bind the daughters over to employment suited to their sex until their eighteenth year. The church wardens of the different parishes were directed to present the names of the children who were thus to be placed with a view to their training in some manual art.[1]

There are many instances in the county records to show that the provisions of these laws were carried into practice. In 1684, Samuel Bond was apprenticed to Benjamin Brock of York, a skilful carpenter, with a view to acquiring a knowledge of the trade of a wheelwright and turner. His term was to continue for five years. The mutual obligations assumed are worthy of enumeration. Bond agreed to keep inviolate the secrets of his master; to obey him with strictness and cheerfulness; to inflict upon him no injury, and to warn him of impending harm if observed; to commit no waste in using his property, and to refrain from lending any portion of it to other persons. Bond

County, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 130). In his will, Thomas Wythe of Elizabeth City County directed that his "negro Tom doe tann as many hides yearlely as shall be needfull for both familys, that is, my mother's and mine." See *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 35, Va. State Library.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 416; vol. II, p. 298.

further agreed not to play cards or dice, or to haunt taverns, or to absent himself by day or night from his employment, or to commit fornication. The master, on the other hand, agreed to instruct his apprentice in the special art of a wheelwright or turner; to furnish him with the quantity of meat and drink which he needed; to supply him with clothing and lodging, and to allow him washing; and finally, the master bound himself not to withdraw the apprentice from the pursuit of the trade in which he wished to become proficient, in order to compel him to take part in any branch of plantation work except the cultivation of maize, and only in this when the demand for his assistance was pressing. At the end of the term prescribed, Brock agreed to give to his former apprentice a full set of wheelwright tools, a coat made of kersey, a serge suit, a new hat, two pairs of shoes and stockings, one shirt of dowlas, and two of blue linen.[1] In the event that the master died before the expiration of the apprenticeship, Bond was to be required to serve only one-half of his time, provided the death of Brock had occurred previous to this point in the course of his term. If this was the case, Bond was to receive only the clothing which he had in his possession when the apprenticeship began. If Brock died after Bond had served more than one-half of his term, the latter was to be allowed not only the same amount of clothing as was in his possession when he came to his master, but also the full set of tools used by wheelwrights.

[1] This was the common form of the English indenture for apprentices. The terms of the agreement between Bond and Brock were identical with those of the indenture given in a note in the second chapter on Servants. Beverley, referring to these provisions, states that "besides their trade and schooling, the masters are generally obliged to give them (*i.e.* the apprentices) at their freedom, cattle, tools or other things, to the value of 5, 6, or 10£ according to the age of the child when bound, over and above the usual quantity of corn and clothes." *History of Virginia*, p. 209.

It was a notable part of the obligation assumed by Brock, reference to which has been deferred until the last, that he bound himself to instruct Bond in the art of writing, and to teach him the science of arithmetic, a clause in the indenture showing the enlightened interest of the court in the welfare of the apprentice as well as their desire to promote the cause of education.[1]

It is not necessary to give in detail the contents of other indentures. Points of variance alone may be touched upon. In articles of agreement between Mrs. Phœbe Heale and John Keene of York, the son of the former was required to remain in the service of Keene until he reached his twenty-first birthday. Not until he was eighteen years of age, however, was he to begin to learn the mysteries of the trade of cooper, which was followed by Keene. Upon the attainment of his sixteenth birthday, the apprentice was to receive from his master a heifer, the increase of which was to be carefully preserved until his term of service was ended, when delivery was to be made.[2]

Thomas Best of Elizabeth City was assigned by his master in 1694 to a blacksmith for a period of seven years, with a view to his instruction as a smith, at the end of which time he could claim a full set of the tools used in that trade, and the amount of grain and quantity of clothing allowed by the custom of the Colony.[3] In 1694,

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, pp. 60, 61, Va. State Library. In the articles by which Valentine Harvey, who was seven years of age, was bound as an apprentice to Daniel Wyld, the latter agreed to keep Harvey at school three or four years, provided there was a schoolmaster in the parish. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 201, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 84, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 30, Va. State Library. For the terms of another apprenticeship to a blacksmith, see *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1689–1692, p. 28.

also, a child five years of age was apprenticed in the same county for a period of sixteen years. One of the duties to be performed on the part of the master was to teach his youthful servant so that he should be able to read a chapter in the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.[1] Failure on the part of the master to perform his agreement subjected him to the penalty of a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco. If he was delinquent in delivering the suit of clothing, and the grain which custom required of him, the same fine was imposed.[2]

If cases arose of children of the poorest classes showing vicious propensities which their parents made no effort to restrain or repress, the local courts stepped in and required them to be placed in the care of competent and industrious handicraftsmen. In 1694, there were three children in Elizabeth City County, the offspring of a woman of bad character, who had become notorious for their criminal conduct, the more remarkable as they were still very young. They were inveterate thieves, finding a refuge in the recesses of the woods. One of the three was a girl. The court placed her in the service of a planter and his wife who resided in the county, requiring them to provide her with food, clothing, and lodging and also to instruct her sufficiently to enable her to read a chapter in the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. One of the two remaining children was bound at first to a merchant, but on his requesting that he should be transferred to a shoemaker, the court con-

[1] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 30, Va. State Library. This was the usual provision of such an indenture. There is no reason to believe that it was not strictly carried out.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 139; *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 144, Va. State Library.

sented to conform to his wishes.[1] In some instances, when the apprentice was still of tender years, his master was compelled by the court to put him to school, if a schoolmaster was to be found in the parish.[2]

The class of free mechanics in Virginia was an important one in spite of its small number. As late as 1680, it is stated that a handicraftsman was regarded by the planters with the highest esteem and courted with their utmost art.[3] That the supply of free tradesmen was unequal to the demand for their services was not to be attributed to any lack of encouragement on the part of the colonial administration. All of the early Governors received instructions to promote the welfare of those engaged in the various mechanical pursuits, and to restrain any disposition on their part to abandon these pursuits with a view to producing tobacco. In 1621, Wyatt was directed to take steps to have young men trained as mechanics and to compel them to devote themselves to their business in preference to tobacco culture.[4] Ten years later, the statute 1 James I, C. 6, which relates especially to mechanics, was declared by the General Assembly to be in force in the Colony, and at the same time, an appeal was made to the Privy Council in England to encourage

[1] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, pp. 38, 42, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 202, Va. State Library.

[3] The following passage in support of this statement is from the *Life of Thomas Hellier*, p. 28: "Many who were of mean education and obscure original beggars in their native soil, have by their drudging industry since their arrival in this country attained to something of estate. The gross fancies of such cloudy-pated persons will by reason of their invincible ignorance misplace their esteem on a tailor, smith, shoemaker or the like necessary handicraftsmen, courting such a one with their utmost art and skill, when a scholar shall but be condemned and happily set at nought."

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 115.

the emigration of tradesmen to Virginia.[1] The evil still remained that after the tradesmen arrived, they persisted in forsaking the pursuits in which they had been educated and expending their labor in the production of tobacco. So injurious were the effects of this irresistible inclination, that in 1633, brickmakers, carpenters, joiners, sawyers, and turners were expressly forbidden to take part in any form of tillage and the commanders were required to enforce the regulation. To encourage the tradesmen to rely upon their business alone for a livelihood, they were to receive remuneration for the work which they had done for the different planters, out of the tobacco that under the Inspection Act of this year was to be brought to the several stores to be erected for its safe-keeping.[2] In the instructions given to Wyatt in 1638–39 and to Berkeley in 1641, all the handicraftsmen in the Colony were to be drawn into towns. The object of this policy was to remove them from temptation to plant on their own account.[3]

No statute passed by the Assembly during the century shows more clearly the public desire to advance the prosperity of those engaged in mechanical pursuits, than the enactment of 1661–62, exempting tradesmen and handicraftsmen from the payment of levies.[4] This provision extended to all in their employment, subject, however, to the one condition that both the master and servant should devote their time to their trades and should not be interested either in or out of the Colony, directly or indirectly,

[1] General Court Orders, March 6, 1631, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 97.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 208.

[3] Instructions to Wyatt, *Colonial Entry Book*, vol. 79, pp. 219–236; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 48, Va. State Library; Instructions to Berkeley, *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 386, § 26, Va. State Library.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 85; see *Ibid.*, p. 307. This was ten years later.

in the culture of tobacco. Levies for the support of the Church were not included in the exemption. Relief of any one class in the community from taxation, however important that class might be considered, to encourage its members in their business, was an experiment which could not be carried out without imposing hardships on the individuals of other classes; this was foreseen when the law was passed, for it was ordered that the statute should only remain in operation for three years. This length of time, it was expected, would give ample opportunity to test its merits. It was suspended before the first year had expired, the suspension to continue during five years, this provision having been suggested entirely by the poverty of the times.[1] It would seem that handicraftsmen at the end of this period were again exempted from the payment of levies by the revival of the same law. This is the inference to be drawn from the statute of 1672, passed ten years after the temporary revocation of the original privilege. Only youths below the age of sixteen who were really apprentices were excepted from the operation of this Act, which placed all mechanics upon the footing of the ordinary citizen in the matter of taxation, whatever usage prevailed to the contrary.[2] That it should have been necessary to pass such a law, is an indication that the artisans had previously been relieved from taxation on the ground that the interests of the community demanded that they should be especially encouraged in the pursuit of their trades.

The celebrated Act of Cohabitation, adopted in 1680, provided for the restoration of all the special privileges which in the past had been granted for the encouragement of the mechanical trades. It not only relieved the persons engaged in these trades, who would take up their resi-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 179. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

dence in the projected towns and forego tobacco culture altogether, of the burden of the public levies, but also during a period of five years exempted them in the boundaries of their towns from personal arrest and from seizure of their goods for the payment of debts which they had at a previous time contracted elsewhere.[1] The most favorable legislation, however, was unable to create a large and prosperous class of mechanics in Virginia, that is to say, a class of men following the trades, who earned their livelihood and accumulated a competence in these pursuits alone. It was natural that no body of mechanics resembling those to be found in England arose and flourished in the Colony. The most hostile influence was perhaps the lack of a metallic currency. It was stated as early as 1626, that the absence of such a currency was a serious obstruction to the advance in prosperity of the manual trades.[2] A decade later, the same impediment existed to a still more discouraging degree. Harvey declared in a letter to Secretary Windebank that mechanics positively refused to follow their callings because they were compelled, after finishing their work, to wait for their remuneration until the crop of tobacco for the year had been gathered in and cured. In the interval, they complained, and complained justly, that they wanted the means with which to support themselves and their families.[3] To modify this condition, a law was passed prescribing that all pieces of eight should be current as equal in value to five shillings, irrespective of the metal entering into their

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 476.

[2] Governor and Council to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 10; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1626*, p. 143, Va. State Library.

[3] Governor Harvey to Secretary Windebank, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 17; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1626*, p. 161, Va. State Library.

composition. It was soon seen that this provision, which sought to give a fictitious value to coin intrinsically comparatively worthless, was more calculated to injure than to promote the welfare of the tradesmen. It was, therefore, determined that only silver pieces of eight should be accepted as worth five shillings and to pass current at that valuation.[1]

The influences which operated to depress the general condition of the trades remained in force down to 1700, and appeared to be just as strong at the end as in the middle of the century. The free mechanic was still compelled to pass from plantation to plantation in search of work, and a large part of his time was absorbed in these journeys, owing to the great distance intervening between the different estates. He was still remunerated for his services, not in coin, but in the staple of the country, which could be delivered only at one season in the year. In performing his tasks, therefore, he either expected payment to be made many months subsequently, when a crop not yet in the ground or only recently planted had been gathered in, granting that it escaped the numerous casualties to which tobacco was subject while in the hill, or he received his fee in small parcels of that commodity, which it was both inconvenient and expensive to transport to his own home.[2] Having obtained these parcels, there was no market in which he could use them in the purchase of supplies of meal and bread. He could not always rely upon his neighbors to buy them. He was, therefore, almost forced to produce grain and breed live stock, even if he did not cultivate tobacco. This is only one of the many instances in the economic history of Virginia in the seventeenth century, of the obstructive

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 397.

[2] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 8.

influence exercised upon the material prosperity of all classes in the Colony by the enforced use of its staple crop as a substitute for coin. That commodity was not only an agricultural product, but also a currency in which every form of payment was made, public or private. It was not unnatural that many persons who had been trained in the mechanical arts should have preferred to obtain tobacco, not by doing mechanical work, but by tilling the ground, an impulse which was encouraged by the abundance of lands still in a condition of the highest fertility.

In the early history of Virginia, an attempt was made to establish a general tariff of rates, in conformity with which the free mechanics were to receive remuneration for their labor. Thus it was provided by the first Assembly, which met in 1619, that a person engaged in a mechanical pursuit should be paid according to the quality of his trade, and if the amount of his wages was not prescribed by the terms of a contract, its determination was to be left to the officers of the district in which the work was performed.[1] In 1623, the rewards of mechanics varied from three to four pounds of tobacco a day in addition to an allowance of food.[2] This was extraordinary, as each pound of merchantable tobacco at this time was equal in value to two and a half and even to three shillings. It is not surprising that George Sandys should have declared that the compulsory rates of wages in Virginia during the period of his treasurership imposed a burden almost intolerable. Twenty years subsequent to this utterance, the scale of the remuneration received by handicraftsmen employed in the erection of Forts Charles

[1] Lawes of Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 22.

[2] Letter of George Sandys, Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 123.

and James was, for the work of each day, seven pounds of tobacco. The value of a pound at this time did not exceed two pence. The daily wages of these mechanics were one shilling and a few pence, perhaps equal to about one-fourth of the modern English pound sterling, no insignificant return for the industry of a few hours, even after allowance has been made for the expense incurred in transporting and selling the tobacco.[1] Instances are found about the middle of the century, and they were probably not uncommon in every part of it, of the payment of what was due mechanics for their labor, in the form of goods or live-stock; thus in 1647, the court of York County instructed Joan Trotter to deliver to Edward Grimes, in return for carpentry work, one pair of shoes, a green rug, and eight poultry.[2] How large were the sums in which many of the planters became indebted to mechanics for tasks completed under terms of contracts is illustrated in the instance of Edward Digges, against whom John Mead, a member of that class, brought in an account amounting to three hundred and one pounds sterling, six shillings and eleven pence, representing in value perhaps as much as seven thousand five hundred dollars in our present American currency.[3] The Act passed in 1662 for the purpose of encouraging the erection of towns, fixed the wages of the carpenters to be employed in this work at thirty pounds of tobacco a day, in addition to rations of food; brickmakers and bricklayers were to be paid for each one thousand bricks moulded and laid, while the remuneration of sawyers was to be measured by the number of feet included in the timber they supplied.[4]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 293, 294.
[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1638–1648, p. 309, Va. State Library.
[3] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 4.
[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 172.

A clear insight into what was considered at this time to be a just reward for the services of free mechanics may be obtained from an order of the General Court with reference to the fort at Point Comfort. The county of Nansemond was commanded to supply forty men to take part in its restoration; Lower Norfolk was to furnish thirty, Warwick twenty-five, and Elizabeth City twenty. It is probable that only a few of them were skilful, as each ship arriving in the river was required to detail one carpenter for the work. Whatever the numerical proportion between the mechanics and ordinary laborers amongst the men impressed into service on this occasion, all received the same wages, amounting in each instance to twenty pounds of tobacco.[1] The carpenter of the sloop of war hired by the authorities of the Colony during the administration of Culpeper was paid monthly at the rate of one pound and fifteen shillings.[2] That this was smaller than the sum generally allowed a mechanic in that situation is shown by the wages of Edward Denerell, who served in the same capacity on board of the *Edmond and Elizabeth* of Hampton River; in this instance, it was fifty-five shillings a month.[3]

[1] General Court Orders, March 29, 1666, *Robinson Transcripts*, pp. 112, 113.

[2] *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 198, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 437, Va. State Library. The following bill will give some notion as to the charges made by coopers and carpenters about 1655: "Col. Yardley debt for worke done for his proper use, viz. for building a dwelling house of 20 foote square with a lodging chamber and a buttery and a chimnye, all necessaries belonging to a dwelling house, 600 lbs. tobo; for settinge up of six tunne of caske, the one halfe coming to me by condition, 300 lbs.; for making too bulke heads in his sloope, 40 lbs.; for the making of a cradle to shale corn, 90 lbs.; mending of one cart putting a new bottome in it and ye sides, 50 lbs.; mending of 5 hogsheads newheaded and hooped and the making of a new hogshead, 65 lbs.; making of one newe churne, 60 lbs.; making of two newe milking pailes and a paile for ye sloope, 75 lbs.; for ye hooping of 4 Duty anchors and making new coverlids, 48 lbs.; for the

While it would be erroneous to say that as a general class the free mechanics of Virginia in the seventeenth century enjoyed even a moderate degree of prosperity from the mere pursuit of their trades, there are nevertheless many evidences that numerous individuals belonging to this class were men in possession of considerable wealth, derived, there is reason to think, as much from the cultivation of tobacco on their own account, as from the accumulation of the proceeds of their mechanical work in the service of their neighbors.[1] The trade of the blacksmith was perhaps the least remunerative of all the callings of that general character, since, the roads being level and free from stones, it was the habit of the planters to allow their horses to go unshod. Iron was also in that age a costly metal, and as a rule quite probably was to be found only in small quantities in the smithies.[2] The blacksmith seems to have performed sometimes the functions of a silversmith; he was also often engaged in mending guns which had been broken or injured in barrel or lock, or in restoring the temper of damaged swords.[3] In 1691, a complaint was

hooping of an English hogshead and making a new coverlid unto it for a powdering tub, 30 lbs.; cutting of an English tearce in two and new hooping of them and putting new eares to them, 24 lbs.; mending of a cheese presse, 25 lbs.; setting up two shelves of plank in the house, 10 lbs." *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 180.

[1] Joseph Hollowel of Lower Norfolk County, in two deeds of conveyance, refers to himself in one as a planter, in the other, as a carpenter. These deeds will be found together in *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 182. See, also, an instance in *Ibid.*, original vol. 1675–1686, p. 199. Another instance is that of John Gibson of Lancaster County, original vol. 1666–1682, pp. 340, 433.

[2] The following is an enumeration of the contents of one of the blacksmiths' shops belonging to Ralph Wormeley: "1000 lbs. trash iron, 1 pr. bellowes, 1 anvil, 1 back iron, 4 great vices, 4 hand vices, screwplates, taps, files, hammers, tongs." *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 126.

[3] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, pp. 20, 152, Va.

offered to the General Court by the commander of the militia that the men of this craft had refused to put the muskets of the soldiers in condition for use because they were to receive in return tobacco alone.[1]

At times, it was found necessary to regulate the accounts of blacksmiths, owing to their exorbitant charges; in reality, it is probable that they made their fees large in order to insure themselves against the fluctuations in the price of tobacco, the medium in which they were paid.[2] The county records of the period show that persons in this calling were able to acquire small estates. There is an instance in Rappahannock County in 1671 in which a blacksmith appears as a purchaser of a tract of land; in a second instance, another disposed of one part of his plantation for four thousand pounds of tobacco, and at a later time, of a second part for two thousand.[3] Among the blacksmiths of York who were owners of small areas of ground were Owen Davies, James Derbyshire, and William Rice. In 1684, Walter Binford of Lower Norfolk County purchased a tract of land covering seventy acres.[4] Isaac Goding, in 1677, bought a plantation of one hundred acres in Middlesex.[5] Daniel Flaher held one hundred and fifty acres in Lancaster, and Joseph Depre two hundred and sixty.[6] In

State Library. Fitzhugh, writing to a correspondent in Bristol, whom he had instructed to purchase certain pieces of silver, directs him to leave the plate untouched, as he had in his own service in Virginia a man who was "a singular good engraver." *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 21, 1698. The inventory of the Sheets personal estate included a full set of goldsmith's tools. See *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1697–1704, p. 208.

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 141, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 11.

[3] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1671–1676, p. 232, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 170.

[5] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1673–1685, p. 109.

[6] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1687–1700, p. 64; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1666–1682, p. 222.

1658, John Williams acquired two hundred acres in Northampton County. Charles Parker was still more prosperous; at his death, he devised not only several extensive tracts of land, but also a water-mill.[1]

The trade of a cooper was far more profitable, the field offered for the exercise of skill being a wider one. In the account which has been given of the agricultural development of the Colony from decade to decade, the importance of this calling appears clearly from the number of regulations adopted by the General Assembly for its government. There were few more important articles connected with the economy of the plantation than the hogsheads in which the tobacco, when cured, was stored for shipment. It was the business of the cooper to manufacture these receptacles, an occupation in which a handsome remuneration was assured owing to the abundance of the work; it is not surprising, therefore, to discover that this class of tradesmen were in possession of considerable tracts of real estate and owned many kinds of personalty. Numerous patents to public lands were obtained by them. In 1657 alone, two were issued, aggregating seven hundred and fifty acres. In the following year, William Strowder, a cooper, obtained a patent to five hundred acres, and in the course of the same year, Richard White, also a cooper, was one of three persons who acquired a grant to a thousand on the basis of the transportation of twenty servants.[2] Additional instances derived from the same source might be offered.

In 1667, Edward Palmer, a cooper, is found in possession of a plantation in York.[3] About the same time, John Dangerfield, who belonged to the same calling, disposed of

[1] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1657–1666, orders Jan. 27, 1653; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1689–1698, p. 270.

[2] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1655–1664, pp. 144, 195, 283, 332.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 191, Va. State Library.

the half interest which he held in a very large tract lying in Rappahannock.[1] There are later instances in the history of this county of sales and purchases of land by men in this pursuit ranging from one hundred to five hundred acres. The record of the trade in Elizabeth City County is substantially the same. In one instance in that county, a cooper paid as much as seventy pounds sterling for a tract of two hundred and fifty acres, a sum equivalent in value to nearly eighteen hundred dollars in our modern currency.[2]

Coopers enjoyed unusual prosperity in Lower Norfolk. Dennis Dalby, in that county, was in 1674 in possession of six hundred acres.[3] In 1689, Henry Snagle owned in one body seven hundred and fifty acquired by patent. Thomas Salley is found in 1685 selling five hundred acres. In 1690, Robert Butt purchased six hundred and fifty.[4] Moses Prescott, Humphrey Smith, Thomas Miller, and George Ballentine were also among the members of the same calling who were owners of land.

The personal property bequeathed by coopers was often of considerable value measured by the accumulations of the seventeenth century. John Keene died in York County in 1693, having left to each of his three sons five head of cattle and fifteen pounds sterling; and the same number of cattle and the same amount of money were bequeathed by him to each of his daughters.[5]

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, p. 239, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 358, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 186.

[4] *Ibid.*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. pp. 108, 129; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 205.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 316, Va. State Library. A cooper's inventory will be found in *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 358, Va. State Library.

There are many indications that the estates of men who followed this branch of mechanics were not derived from the pursuit of their calling alone; they were not only engaged in planting tobacco, but also in some cases in selling merchandise in the character of factors. In 1698, Messrs. Perry and Lane, who were deeply interested in the trade of Virginia, made to a cooper a consignment of goods valued at forty-two pounds sterling, representing a great variety of articles, such as ironware, spices, drugs, liquors, hats, stockings, shoes, and cloths.[1]

Persons engaged in the pursuit of carpentry in general combined with it the trades of wheelwright, turner, and joiner. There are numerous evidences that many of these persons were thrifty and prosperous, most probably because they were able to unite other callings with the coördinate branches of mechanics which they followed. Among the first grants recorded in the Colony was one to Richard Tree, to whom fifty acres were in 1623 assigned by patent at Jamestown. Nor was this the only case at this early period in which a tradesman of this kind secured tracts of public land either in fee simple or by lease for a long term of years. Towards the middle of the century, however, the patent books show that but few patents were obtained either by carpenters or any other handicraftsmen.[2] During many years previous to 1648, John Hewitt was the only mechanic who appeared as a patentee.[3] In 1755, John Motley of Wicocomico, a carpenter, acquired a grant in Westmoreland County of six hundred acres on the basis of the transportation of twelve persons.[4] Subsequent

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 361, Va. State Library.

[2] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, Tree, p. 19. For other instances, see *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 98. Thomas Passmore, a carpenter, also held property in Jamestown. See *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 89.

[3] *Va. Land Patents*, 1643–1651, p. 138.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1652–1655, p. 349.

instances, in which patents to tracts of considerable extent were secured by persons in this pursuit, might be given.

Still more numerous were the private conveyances in which a carpenter was either the grantor or the grantee. Only the most important can be mentioned. In 1669, John Waggener purchased a large tract in Rappahannock County in consideration of fifty-five hundred pounds of tobacco, and in a short time he transferred the property to Henry Lucas, who was a member of the same calling. John Williams of the same county was the owner of eighteen hundred acres.[1] The most prominent and prosperous of all the carpenters of Rappahannock was Thomas Madison, whose name appears with great frequency in the records as a seller or purchaser of land;[2] at his death, he had to his credit in England seventy pounds sterling, a proof that the means which he had accumulated had been gained, at least in part, by shipments of tobacco to the mother country.[3]

John Ladd of Lower Norfolk in 1672 disposed of four hundred acres, and, a few years later, Mathew Causwell of the same county, of two hundred. In 1685, Robert Cartwright became the purchaser of five hundred acres.

In the succeeding decade, Augustin Whiddon bequeathed several large tracts to members of his family.[4] Thomas

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, pp. 141, 142. See, also, *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 81, 143; Williams, *Ibid.*, vol. 1656–1664, p. 88; also vol. 1656–1664, p. 124; vol. 1680–1688, p. 95; vol. 1677–1682, pp. 146, 364, Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1668–1672, pp. 48, 59, 215, Va. State Library; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1656–1664, p. 149.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1673, p. 78, Va. State Library. Madison is sometimes referred to as "ship carpenter."

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, Ladd, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 121; Causwell, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 181; Cartwright, *Ibid.*, f. p. 205; Whiddon, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 190. See, also, *Ibid.*, original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 133; original vol. 1695–1703, p. 80; original vol. 1686–1695, f. pp. 87, 116, 164; original vol. 1666–1675, pp. 148, 167,

Smith, a carpenter of York, on one occasion bought several hundred acres of Joseph Croshaw.[1] On another, William Foster of Northampton sold fifteen hundred,[2] and Robert Wilson of Accomac, twelve hundred.[3]

Powers of attorney to persons who resided at a great distance from the grantors, entry of which in the county records so often occurs in the case of carpenters, indicates that many members of this calling, occasionally at least, traded in tobacco, for such powers were not always conferred for the collection of what was due them for mechanical work. That men of this craft belonged to a class enjoying unusual advantages is shown by the fact that many could sign their names, an accomplishment which was by no means general at that day.[4]

A full set of the tools used by carpenters probably averaged about one pound sterling and ten shillings in value; the appraisement of a combined set of carpenter's, cooper's, and joiner's tools amounted in many cases to four pounds sterling.[5] The number and variety owned by some members of these trades at this time would seem to show that they not uncommonly retained several apprentices and servants in their employment, and that they were often in a position to undertake contracts for building on an important scale. A single instance may be mentioned. An inventory of the personal estate of Mr. John Cumber

182. The inventory of a carpenter's personal estate in this county will be found in original vol. 1651–1656, f. p. 205.

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 193, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1668–1686, p. 1.

[3] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1676–1690, p. 9. See, also, *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1679–1694, pp. 82, 388; *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1687–1700, pp. 10, 76.

[4] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, p. 240, Va. State Library; *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 119, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Henrico County*, original vol. 1697–1704, p. 135.

of Henrico was presented in court in 1679.[1] It reveals the fact that his tools were at the time of his death lying at four different places in the county. It will be interesting to enumerate them. At Mr. Cox's, there were one jack-plane, one smoothing plane, and four small plough planes, two files, two bramble bits, one keyhole saw, a quarter-inch and a one and a half inch gouge, a half-inch and a quarter-inch short auger, a one-half inch and one-quarter inch heading chisel, two mortising chisels, one gimlet, one pair of compasses, one pair of piercers, two hand-irons for a turning lathe, a chalk line, two wooden gauges one-half foot square, and one tool chest.

At Mr. Radford's, there were one hand-saw, a pocket-roll, a jack and line, one two-inch and one half-inch auger, two smoothing and eight small narrow planes, one hold-fast, one hammer, a bench hook, four small pincer bits, a file for a hand-saw, one inch and one half-inch heading chisel, a broad turning chisel, one paring and one half-inch ordinary chisel, two gimlets, a quarter-inch gouge, and a small pincer bit, two small squares, one gauge, one bow-saw, and one pair of compasses.

At Falling Creek Mill, there were two broad axes, three adzes, four augers, three chisels, one whip and three hand-saws, one foreplane, two hammers, one pair of compasses, one chalk line, and two files. At Mr. John Hudlesy's, there were two chisels and one small jack-plane.

In a general way, it may be said, that the equipment of the carpenter for his trade comprised hand, cross-cut, and bramble saws, half-inch augers, auger bits, chisels, claw-hammers, files, narrow and broad axes, adzes, hatchets, wedges, smoothing planes, rabbit planes, foreplanes, creasing and half-inch round planes, parting and turning gouges, and nail-boxes. Leather doublets doubtless formed a part

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 105, Va. State Library.

of the outfit of the carpenter as well as of the blacksmith.

The shipwright was as prominent as the carpenter in the economic system of the Colony. The resources of Virginia for ship-building were recognized at the time of the earliest exploration of the country, the height, girth, and variety of the trees being one of the most remarkable features of the valleys adjacent to the streams. Smith commented on the fine quality of the timber for the construction of vessels, and he referred to it as a source of wealth if properly used.[1] Experienced shipwrights who visited the Colony at an early period in its history, stated that nowhere in the world could more suitable material for ship-building be found than that which abounded everywhere in its forests;[2] this fact was so well known in England by report, that it was proposed that the English Government should draw its supply for the construction of vessels entirely from Virginia, and on account of the inexhaustible quantity obtainable there, that the English navy should be annually increased by the building of two ships of a thousand tons burden for a period of ten years. Not only would the defences of the mother country be strengthened in this way, but its small area of woods would not be further reduced.[3] It was calculated that Holland and England expended one million dollars annually in the purchase of ship timber.[4]

The first vessel of Virginian construction was built previous to 1611, and was equal in weight to twelve or

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 64.

[2] "Relation of the Present State of Virginia by William Perse," Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 60.

[3] Captain Bailey's Project, *Domestic Corr. James I*, vol. 189, No. 36; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 129, Va. State Library.

[4] New Britain, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 268. See original Nova Britannia, p. 16, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I.

thirteen tons.[1] In 1613, the construction of a much heavier ship was ordered at Point Comfort by Argoll, who had just returned from a voyage on the tributaries of the Chesapeake, where he had obtained from the Indians a large cargo of grain for the use of the colonists. Leaving the vessel, which was in the course of building, in the hands of his carpenters, he made a second voyage to the Potomac. When he again arrived at Point Comfort, he pressed forward the building of his frigate, and upon its completion, dispatched it under the command of one of his subordinate officers to Cape Charles, where its crew were to engage in catching fish for the people at Jamestown. He also caused a fishing boat to be constructed at the Point as soon as the vessel was finished. The plank which entered into this ship and boat was obtained on the spot, the timber having been cut down and prepared by members of Argoll's company.[2]

It was claimed by those who condemned the manner in which the Colony's affairs were managed by Sir Thomas Smyth, that at the end of his term, about 1618, there was in Virginia only one ancient frigate, which really belonged to the Somers Isles, a shallop, a ship-boat, and two small boats which were the property of private individuals.[3] This statement was emphatically denied by members of the Warwick faction, who declared, to the contrary, that in the course of this administration, barges, shallops, pinnaces, and frigates had been built, an assertion not supported by the facts.[4] In 1620, when the new government had taken a firm hold, and were pursuing a most energetic

[1] Molina's Report of the Voyage to Virginia, Spanish Archives, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 520.

[2] Argoll to Hawes, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 644.

[3] Discourse of the Old Company, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 40; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 157.

[4] *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., p. 45.

and enlightened policy, John Wood, who, as has been previously stated, had been interested in the transportation of cattle to the Colony, petitioned the Quarter Court that he should be permitted to have the use of a certain shore on Elizabeth River, covered with fine timber, and also abutting on water sufficiently deep to allow the safe launching of vessels. He proposed to build ships for the service of the Company, and his proposal was received with sufficient favor by the latter to be recommended to the consideration of the Governor and Council in Virginia.[1] These authorities are found entreating the Company in the following year to carry out the project which that body now had under advisement, of sending shipwrights to the Colony for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with vessels of various sorts, the need of which, the Governor and Council urged, prevented the prosecution of further discovery in Virginia or the extension of trade with the Indians, or an easy passage from one settlement to another.[2]

Many members of the Company now consented to advance a sum of money for the purpose of defraying the expense of securing and forwarding skilful workingmen, Lord Southampton and Sir Edwin Sandys contributing for this purpose two hundred pounds apiece.[3] A short time after these subscriptions were obtained, in order to facilitate and hasten the labors of the shipwrights and forty carpenters who were to be sent out from England in the following spring, the Governor and Council in Virginia were directed by a Quarter Court to cut down many white and

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 88.

[2] Letter from Governor and Council in Virginia, January, 1621-22, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 285.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 141.

black oaks, and in November and December to strip the bark from others then standing. The Company was under the impression that the ironworks and the saw-mills which had been erected were in full operation, and relied upon both to furnish the shipwrights with the iron and plank which would be required. If the furnaces and mills were still incomplete, then the workmen could accomplish nothing.[1] In conformity with the previous announcement, Captain Barwick and twenty-five ship-carpenters were dispatched to Virginia in the following spring. They were to be employed only in the trade in which they had been educated.[2] The band were commended to the particular care of Treasurer Sandys, who was instructed to seat them upon a tract of land containing twelve hundred acres of fine timber, and to allow them the use of four oxen for dragging the logs from the forest to the spot where they would carry on their work. Captain Barwick and his carpenters established themselves at Jamestown. At first, they were employed in erecting houses to afford shelter for themselves, and afterwards were engaged in building shallops. It was in shallops, rather than in ships, that the tobacco was transported, for the latter were too heavy in draught to make their way into the creeks. It was not long before six or seven of the carpenters had succumbed to the deadly influences of the climate. Captain Barwick also perished. This appears to have caused their mission to end in failure.[3]

The Company had been very solicitous for the erection of saw-mills in Virginia with a view to house and ship building; in the Second Supply, sent to Virginia under

[1] Company's Letter, August, 1621, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 239.

[2] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 571.

[3] *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., p. 39.

the command of Newport, Poles and Dutchmen had been included for the purpose, among others, of erecting mills of this character.[1] In 1619, there were forwarded both men and material with the same object in view, and at a later date trained workmen were procured from Hamburg.[2] No saw-mill had been erected in England previous to 1633.[3] In the course of January, 1622, information was received from Virginia of an interview between a prominent citizen of that Colony and a Dutch captain who had proposed to introduce a master-workman from Holland for the construction of saw-mills propelled by the wind. It is not stated that this project was carried out.[4] Wyatt was enjoined to erect mills for sawing, and in doing so, to choose sites immediately adjacent to the Falls of the Powhatan, in order that the lumber might be brought thither by means of water.[5] With these facilities for obtaining planks and with a vast abundance of the finest timber, one or more ships were probably constructed during the treasurership of Sandys for the use of the Colony, as four at that time were in the possession of the settlers, a very small number it is true, but sufficient for the needs of the inhabitants. The number of boats built in the course of the same period is calculated to have been ten times larger than during the administration of Sir Thomas Smyth.[6]

It is probable that some of the most skilful boatwrights

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 434.

[2] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, pp. 67, 75, 84. These Dutchmen were in a short time permitted to return, the scheme having been found impracticable. See *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., p. 45.

[3] Bishop's *History of American Manufactures*, vol. I, p. 93.

[4] Letter of Governor and Council in Virginia, January, 1621-22, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 286.

[5] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 115.

[6] Discourse of the Old Company, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 40; *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. I, p. 159.

in the Colony perished in the great massacre of 1622. It would be inferred from a letter of George Sandys to John Ferrer, written after that terrible event, that there were few if any persons then in Virginia who could lay claim to special knowledge of ship-building. It seems that a pinnace had been driven ashore at Elizabeth City, where it was lying in the state of a wreck. Sandys instructed an agent to make an examination of her condition and to proceed with his men to repair the damage which she had suffered. None of these, as well as others who were ordered to give assistance, deserved, in the opinion of Sandys, the name of shipwright. As the Treasurer was a public official who commanded the best resources of the Colony in the way of handicraftsmen, it seems unlikely that he would be content to leave the restoration of the pinnace to its original state in the hands of unskilful mechanics, if it had been in his power to obtain at Jamestown, or at any other settlement in Virginia, men who were thoroughly competent to make the repairs required.[1]

In the interval between the revocation of the charter of the Company and the appointment of Harvey to the governorship, ship-building in Virginia apparently fell into complete decay. In 1632, Harvey informed the Lord Commissioners in England that recently some beginning had been made in this industry in the Colony.[2] Saw-mills at least had been erected to furnish the plank.[3] This beginning must have been followed up with little energy, for only three years later, Devries, on arriving at Jamestown and discovering that his ship was in a leaky

[1] See Sandys to Ferrer, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 27; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 89, Va. State Library.

[2] Governor Harvey to Lords Commissioners, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VI, No. 54; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1632*, p. 34, Va. State Library.

[3] *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, Appx., pp. 290, 291.

condition, found it necessary to sail to the New Netherlands for repairs. It would seem that there were no facilities or appliances in Virginia for mending his vessel, so that he could not escape the expense of a long voyage.[1] It is interesting to observe that it was at this period that Peter de Licques of Picardie presented his petition to the King. The privilege which he solicited was that of providing, in return for a certain remuneration, sufficient timber from the forests of the Colony during a course of five years, to maintain five of the royal ships in as fine a condition as when they were first completed, and on the termination of the five years, to build annually for the Royal Navy, one vessel of five hundred tons burden. This he was to continue to do until permission was withdrawn.[2]

In the interval of fifteen years between the departure of Devries in 1632, and the middle of the century, there are many evidences that numerous barks, pinnaces, and rowboats, both large and small, were built in Virginia. This activity sprang from an absolute necessity, as the plantations, with a few exceptions, were situated on rivers and creeks, and could only be reached by passing from one to the other by means of the water highway.[3] No ships, however, were constructed. This was a cause of serious concern to many persons in the Colony, and as a remedy, Secretary Kemp recommended in a letter to Secretary Windebank in England, that a custom-house should be established in Virginia with a view to encouraging the building of large vessels.[4] The industry required more

[1] Devries' *Voyages from Holland to America*, p. 108.

[2] Petition of Peter de Licques, *British State Papers*, vol. VI, No. 42; *McDonald Papers*, vol. II, p. 108, Va. State Library.

[3] New Description of Virginia, p. 6, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.

[4] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 9; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1637*, p. 154, Va. State Library.

ıctive promotion than was to be obtained through such a ılan. In the session of 1656, all ships owned exclusively ıy persons residing in the Colony were exempted from he payment of castle duties.[1] A still more valuable ıxception in their favor was granted in 1659. By a law ıassed in the course of that year, the merchants, ship-ıwners, and masters engaged in the colonial trade were ırdered, whenever the cargo was not destined for the English dominions in Europe, to pay upon each hogshead ıf tobacco a duty of ten shillings in the form of coin, bills ıf exchange, or commodities at an advance of twenty-five ıer cent on the original cost. All persons transporting heir cargoes in bottoms which were the property of Vir-ginians alone, whether native or resident, were relieved from he burden of this imposition.[2] It was stated in the text ıf the statute that one of its objects was to induce the ılanters to purchase an interest in vessels. It is obvious hat if it had had this effect, it would also have created to ome extent a tendency to build ships in Virginia. In March, 1661, fifty pounds of tobacco a ton were granted to ıvery person in the Colony who should construct a vessel arge enough to make a sea voyage.[3] More detailed pro-ıisions were subsequently added. If the burden of the hip exceeded fifty tons but fell short of one hundred, he builder was to receive one hundred pounds of tobacco ton, and if in excess of one hundred tons, the reward ras to be two hundred pounds of tobacco a ton. These ıublic encouragements were made conditional upon the ssurance by the builder of the vessel that he would not ıart with his ownership until three years had passed, ınless he disposed of his interest to a citizen of Virginia.[4]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 402.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 537; also from the duty of two shillings; see *Ibid.*, vol. II, . 136. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 122. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

ment as to the absence of free schools, was not supported by fact.[1] For refutation, reference has only to be made to the vessel of Captain Whitty, the manner in which it was constructed having, as we have seen, excited admiration even in England. Berkeley attributed the indifference of the Virginians of his time to ship-building to the discouraging influences of the Navigation Acts. In the opinion of others, it was due to the absence of a school like the Newfoundland fisheries in which the colonists might have been trained in seamanship.[2] It is really to be ascribed to the circumstance that there was produced in Virginia a commodity which attracted to its rivers the vessels, first of England and Holland, the two great maritime nations of that age, and after the passage of the last Navigation Act, of England alone. No necessity was imposed on them, as on the people of New England, to build numerous ships by means of which the products of an unkindly soil and climate having no market in England and Holland, might be exchanged for tobacco, rum, and sugar, commodities which in their turn might elsewhere be exchanged for clothing and other articles of use. The buyers of the only staple of Virginia sought its plantations. The Virginian planter did not, like the New England farmer, have to seek the foreign purchaser. It followed most naturally that even when the population and wealth of the Colony had increased to a remarkable degree, ship-building did not become an important interest.

There was no lack of barges, shallops, and sloops, the only vessels which the planters required for the movement of their crops. Every facility was at hand for the construction of boats of this character at the time that

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 516.

[2] The patentees of Southampton Hundred enjoyed the right to send ships to the Newfoundland fisheries.

Berkeley gave his written testimony in reply to the inquiries of the commission. A statement is to be found in the records of York County for the year 1672, presenting in an itemized form the cost of building a sloop. The total amount was four thousand four hundred and sixty-seven pounds of tobacco, which, at the rate of two pence a pound, represented an expense, perhaps, of about nine hundred and twenty-five dollars. In the construction of this sloop, the various parts were supplied by different persons.

The plank necessary, namely, three hundred and ninety feet, was furnished by Richard Meakins, the rigging by Mr. Newell, the sail by Captain Shepherd, and the rudder irons by Mr. Williams. It seems to have required four months to complete it, the charges for the food furnished the carpenter running over that length of time; a cask of cider was also consumed by him during the same period.[1]

That the desire to promote ship-building in the Colony still remained in spite of the poor results commented upon by Berkeley, appears from the Act passed in the winter of 1677, relieving the owners of a vessel built in Virginia and belonging to Virginians alone, of all duties except those imposed upon shipmasters in making entry, in clearing, and in securing license to trade, or in giving bond to sail directly to England.[2] By this Act, it will be observed that it was not sufficient that the vessel should simply belong to inhabitants of the Colony. It was distinctly

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 25, Va. State Library. Sloops were sufficiently large to hold as many as fifty hogsheads. See *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 44. A shallop probably could not with safety carry more than twelve hogsheads. See *Ibid.*, same page. The average cost of such a boat was about twenty-two pounds sterling. *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 489, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 387.

stated that the privilege of exemption which had been enjoyed by such persons was withdrawn from them. In October of the same year, it was urged by the owners of the *Planters' Adventure*, among whom was Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., all of his associates being residents of Virginia, that their ship should continue to be exempt from the castle duty and the duty of two shillings a hogshead, as it would be unjust to apply the repeal of the provision to vessels which had for many years enjoyed its benefit.[1]

So active as well as so judicious were the steps now taken in Virginia to encourage the building of ships, that the apprehensions of the English Government were aroused. In 1680, Culpeper was ordered to annul the laws exempting the Virginian owners of vessels constructed in the Colony from the payment of duty on exported tobacco, together with the duty imposed upon incoming ships for the maintenance of the fort.[2] The ground upon which this command was based was the injustice of granting special privileges to shipowners in Virginia which were not enjoyed by owners of English vessels trading in Virginian waters. Moreover, the encouragement held out by the Virginian laws to Virginian ship-builders, would, in the judgment of the English authorities, impair the success of the Navigation Acts by creating a Virginian fleet which would be able to transport the tobacco to the mother country without the assistance of English vessels. It would also, it was said at a later date, tempt the owners of

[1] Order of General Assembly, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1677*, p. 68, Va. State Library. This petition was carried to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, but was denied. *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 106, p. 305; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1681*, p. 121, Va. State Library.

[2] Letter from Privy Council to Culpeper, Oct. 14, 1680, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. lxxx; *McDonald Papers*, vol. V, p. 364, Va. State Library.

English ships to enter them as belonging to Virginians.[1] The order in council condemning these laws showed rather premature apprehension, since John Page and others, in a petition presented by them to Lord Culpeper in 1681, stated that there were but two ships in the Colony which were owned by citizens of Virginia and had been built in its confines.[2] The English Government apparently did not oppose the construction in the Colony of sea-going vessels, provided that their cargoes were made subject to the usual duties.[3] In 1697, ships were constructed in Virginia by Bristol merchants who were influenced to build there by a consideration not only of the fine quality of the timber, but also of the comparatively small cost entailed in the performance of the work.[4]

In the course of the same decade, several vessels were built by Virginians for their own use. Among them was a ship of forty-five tons, constructed for John West of Accomac, which was staunch enough to make a sea voyage.[5] John Goddin of the same county also built a vessel,

[1] Minute of a Committee for Trade and Plantations, *British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book*, No. 106, p. 305; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1681*, p. 121, Va. State Library.

[2] These petitioners meant entirely owned. See petition of the elder Nathaniel Bacon *et al.*, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers; Sainsbury Abstracts for 1681*, p. 122, Va. State Library.

[3] Minutes of a Committee for Trade, *British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book*, No. 106; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1681*, p. 121, Va. State Library.

[4] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 4. There is preserved in the records of York County (vol. 1694–1702, p. 272, Va. State Library), a document, to which Philip Popplestone, merchant, Charles Harford, linen draper, Edward Harford and James Peters, soap makers, all of Bristol, were parties, appointing William Jones, of that city, master of a ship in which the signers of the document "were or were to be part owners," the ship having been "built or to be built in Virginia."

[5] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1690–1696, f. p. 121.

which was twenty-five tons in burden.[1] In 1695, a ship known as the *Virginian* was constructed by Daniel Parke, but on its first passage to England was found to be defective in its steerage.[2]

Among the principal shipwrights in Virginia in the seventeenth century were John Meredith, John and Robert Pritchard of Lancaster, Abraham Elliott, Richard Yates, and John Ealfridge of Lower Norfolk. Meredith was in possession of large tracts of land which he had acquired by purchase or by original grant.[3] The estate of John Pritchard was appraised at four hundred and eighty-two pounds sterling, exclusive of all tobacco due him. This last item amounted to 101,307 pounds.[4] Ealfridge devised a plantation to each of his two sons.[5] The estate of Richard Yates was valuable in personal and real property alike. Elliott was an owner of lands both in Virginia and England.[6]

[1] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 304.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1702, p. 228, Va. State Library.

[3] For one tract, 560 acres, obtained by patent, see *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1652–1657, p. 134. A sale of 600 acres by Meredith is recorded in *Ibid.*, original vol. 1655–1702, p. 19. In 1652, he contracts to build a sloop and a small boat in payment of a debt, due by him, for 47,632 lbs. of tobacco. See *Ibid.*, original vol. 1652–1657, p. 25.

[4] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 19.

[5] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. pp. 16, 50. Ealfridge was also at one time in possession of a half interest in a mill; see *Ibid.*, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 170.

[6] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 9. Among other shipwrights residing in Lower Norfolk County, who were owners of land, were Nicholas Wise, John Creekman, Isaac Seaborne, John Tucker, Quintillian Gutterick, Roger Houseden, Edward Wilder; in Rappahannock, Simon Miller, who, on one occasion, bought 625 acres in one tract (*Records of Rappahannock County*, 1668–1672, p. 139, Va. State Library), John Griffin; in Lancaster, William Edwards; in Northampton, Walter Price, Christopher Stribling; and in Elizabeth City, George and Jacob Walker.

CHAPTER XVIII

MANUFACTURED SUPPLIES: DOMESTIC — *continued*

It was in glass-making that the first step was taken in Virginia to promote manufactures in the wider sense of the word. The explanation of this fact lay in the necessity of providing a large quantity of beads for the use of the settlers in their trade with the Indian natives. There was doubtless a subordinate expectation that Virginia might be able to export raw glass for the English market. One of the most serious obstructions in England to all forms of manufacture involving the consumption of much fuel, was the growing scarcity of wood in consequence of the heavy inroads on the forests. This was felt most severely in the manufacture of iron, but it was also felt in glass-making. The abundance of trees in Virginia was thought to be a notable element of success in the manufacture of this latter commodity in the Colony. When Newport arrived in Virginia in the fall of 1608,[1] he was accompanied by a number of Dutch and Poles, who formed a part of the Second Supply, the object for which they had been sent out being, among other things, to make a trial of glass. A glass-house was accordingly erected about a mile from Jamestown.[2] The first material of this kind was made during the absence of Newport on his excursion into the country of the Monocans, and it was made under the supervision of Smith; when New-

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 434. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

port returned to England, he carried with him as a portion of his cargo, the specimens of glass which had been thus produced.[1] In the spring of 1609, the manufacture was continued with success.[2] During the memorable Starving Time following on the departure of Smith from the Colony, the work which had been in progress at the glass-house must have ceased entirely. Nothing more was heard of glass manufacture in Virginia until 1621, in which year there was an effort to reëstablish it on a permanent footing.

In 1621, the Company entered into a contract with Captain William Norton, who had decided to emigrate to the Colony with his family, under the terms of which he was to carry over with him four Italians skilled in glass-making, and also two servants, the expense of transporting these six persons to be borne by him, while the Company was to furnish their general equipment. In the course of three months after his arrival in Virginia, Norton was required to erect a house for the manufacture of every variety of glass. The privilege of exclusive manufacture was to be enjoyed by him during a period of seven years, and he was expected to give not only his personal superintendence to the work, but also to instruct apprentices in the art of making glass. As a reward for this, he was to receive one-fifth of the moiety of the product reserved for the Company and was to be allowed in addition, four hundred acres of the public land. It was expressly provided that no beads were to be retained by Norton, for these could only be useful as a medium of exchange in the Indian trade, in which the Company alone had the right to engage.[3]

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 441. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 130.

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[illegible]h they were to engage, and to meet
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[illegible]engmen set sail for Virginia. There he
[illegible]ecting a glass furnace. Unfortunately,
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but none adapted to his purpose was found there. He was successful in obtaining the kind which he required from the banks at Cape Henry, but its quality proved so unsatisfactory that Sandys wrote to Ferrer in England requesting him to forward two or three hogsheads of the proper material.[1] The difficulty did not lie only in securing the sand. The Italian workmen employed in the glass-house were wholly intractable; Sandys, in the violence of his anger and disgust, went so far as to say "that a more damned crew hell never vomited," a character which their actions justified his attributing to them.[2] The Italians were anxious to return to Europe, and in order to effect their release, not only proceeded so slowly in their work as to accomplish nothing of consequence, but cracked the furnace by striking it with a crowbar. Their studied efforts to obtain permission to leave the country by breaking up the industry in which they were engaged ended in failure, for among those who were enumerated in the census of 1624–25 as residing on the Treasurer's lands, were Bernardo and Vicenso, two of the four Italians who had come out with Norton in 1621.[3]

There is no positive evidence to show for how great a length of time the glass-house remained in existence

[1] Sandys to Ferrer, April 8, 1623, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 27; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 90, Va. State Library.

[2] George Sandys to Ferrer, *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, Appx., 39.

[3] Muster of the Inhabitants of Virginia, 1624–25, Hotten's *Original Lists of Emigrants*, 1600–1700, p. 235. At the time the census of 1623 was taken there were five persons living at the glass-house. *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. III, No. 2; *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 47. Governor Butler, who arrived in Virginia not long after the massacre took place, states that at the time of his visit the glass furnace was "at a stay and in small hopes." See his Unmasking of Virginia, *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 172.

after the massacre. The land upon which it was situated was conveyed during Governor Harvey's administration to Anthony Coleman. By the heirs of Coleman, it was assigned to John Senior; from Senior it passed first to John Pitchett, then to John Phipps and William Harris. Phipps having conveyed his interest to Harris, Harris in turn conveyed the tract to Colonel Francis Morrison. This was done in September, 1655.[1]

One of the strongest motives that led to the colonization of Virginia by the English was the expectation that it would supply the mother country with a vast quantity of raw iron. The demand for manufactured iron was rapidly increasing in England, and yet the ability of the English furnaces to meet this demand was declining on account of the diminishing quantity of fuel furnished by the local forests. It was entirely just that the English people should look forward to the day when they might be forced to rely on foreign nations for their supply of a material which was coming rapidly into greater use each year.[2] In 1740, it is calculated that England and Wales together produced only seventeen thousand tons; ten years later, five thousand represented the increase.[3] In 1621, the price of a ton of iron was about ten or twelve pounds sterling, equivalent in purchasing power to two hundred and fifty dollars.[4] Virginia was expected not only to relieve England of its dangerous and uncertain dependence upon foreign nations for its supply of raw iron, but

[1] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1652–1655, p. 367.

[2] Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 479.

[3] Bishop's *History of American Manufactures*, vol. I, p. 21.

[4] In 1630–31 the price was forty-two shillings a hundred-weight. In the interval between 1671 and 1692, it was thirty-six shillings and two pence. In 1697, it was thirty-five shillings and eight pence. The average cost of a ton was £37 18*s.* 11*d.* See Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, vol. V, p. 482.

also to furnish that commodity at a cheap rate, owing to the abundance of wood that could be used as fuel in the manufacture.[1] These anticipations were justified by the numerous indications of the presence of iron ore observed by the earliest settlers. Smith, whose mind was always directed to the practical and sober aspects of his surroundings, was among the first to call attention to the adaptability of the new country to iron manufacture as one of the most promising of its sources of wealth, and in order to show the substantial ground on which his expectations were based, he forwarded to England during his presidency two barrels of stones rich in tracings of iron ore.[2] In 1609, Captain Newport transported a large quantity of the same kind of ore to the mother country on his return in the course of that year. So excellent was the metal extracted from it, amounting to sixteen or seventeen tons, that it was purchased by the East India Company, according to whose statement it proved more satisfactory than any iron, procured from other countries, which they had as yet used.[3] The metal was sold to that Corporation at the rate of four pounds sterling a ton.

The earliest attempt to manufacture iron in Virginia, if reliance can be placed on the testimony of Don Maguel, a Spanish witness, was made previous to 1610. Already in the course of the first three years following the foundation of the settlement at Jamestown, machinery had been erected by the English settlers to work the iron mines.[4]

[1] It was stated in the Instructions to Governor Wyatt, 1621, that the iron works then in the course of erection were "the greatest hope and expectation of the Colony." Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 116.

[2] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 444.

[3] Strachey's *Historie of Travaile in Virginia*, p. 132.

[4] Report of Francis Maguel, 1610, Spanish Archives, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 398. The existence of iron ore near the Falls was, it is to be inferred from a passage in Strachey, known to Dale:

The adventurers of Southampton Hundred were perhaps the first who undertook to manufacture iron in the Colony in a systematic way. The circumstances in which this attempt had its origin were peculiar. In 1619, some unknown person contributed five hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the conversion of Indian children living in the Colony, and this large sum was deposited in the hands of the Company to be used for the prescribed purpose in the manner which seemed to be most advisable. That body after some deliberation decided to place the money with the adventurers of Southampton and Martin's Hundreds, in order that the wishes of the anonymous benefactor might be carried out, relieving itself thus of the burden of a very troublesome and perplexing trust. The adventurers of Martin's Hundred, however, were too shrewd to undertake the difficult and thankless task; they declined to accept their share of the benefaction, on the ostensible ground that their property in Virginia was in a state of so much confusion as to render it impossible for them to expend the fund in the manner desired. The adventurers of Southampton Hundred were as anxious as the Company to evade the trust, but being destitute of a plausible excuse such as that of the adventurers of Martin's Hundred, they expressed their willingness to add one hundred pounds to the gift on condition of not being required to assume the proposed responsibility. Their offer was not accepted, although to that extent the conversion of Indian children would have been facilitated. At a meeting held shortly afterwards, the adventurers of Southampton Hundred

"At the head of the Falls (in the Powhatan) . . . on Pembroke side (*i.e.* the southern side), Sir Thomas Dale hath mentioned in his letters to the Lordships of the Counsaile of a goodlye iron mine." See *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 132. Was this "goodlye mine" the one that was afterwards opened on Falling Creek, a stream situated some miles below the Falls?

determined to conform to the wishes of the Company, but in a manner somewhat different from what was anticipated by the unknown Indian benefactor. Instead of deciding to use the money directly for the benefit of Indian children, they concluded to increase the amount by adding to it a large sum out of their own purse, and to employ the whole in establishing iron works in Virginia, the profits of which, ratably to the benefaction, were to be expended in instructing thirty Indian children in the doctrines of the Christian Church. Two purposes would be thus accomplished, one of which would promote the economic welfare of the colonists, and the other elevate the moral condition of the heathen.[1] A letter was addressed to Yeardley, who was not only Governor of Virginia, but also Captain of Southampton Hundred, in which he was urged to show the utmost care and industry in setting the projected works on foot, as upon these works were fixed the "eyes of God, Angels, and men." Captain Blewit was dispatched to the Colony to superintend the manufacture of iron, but, like so many others who went out to Virginia at this early period, he succumbed to disease soon after his arrival. This had the effect of obstructing the proposed industry for a time.[2] He had been accompanied by eighty men. After the death of Blewit, Mr. John Berkeley, with twenty experienced iron workers, came to Virginia to reinforce the survivors of the original band. These additional workmen had been obtained by Berkeley on condition that the Company would assume the expense of transporting himself, his son and his three servants. The cost of sending over the workmen was also defrayed by that Corporation, and they

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, pp. 162–164.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

were to be supported at its charge for a period of twelve months and to remain in its service for the term of seven years.[1] The original purpose was to establish three iron works,[2] but only one furnace appears to have been erected, its site being on Falling Creek, in the present county of Chesterfield.

It is interesting to find that this spot as a place for iron-making had already been regarded with great enthusiasm by George Sandys, who declared that if Nature had intentionally prepared it with a view to this special manufacture, the advantages for that purpose which it possessed could not have been more remarkable. In expressing this opinion, he had in mind the circumstance that there were present in proximity here not only ore and water, but wood, and stones with which to construct the furnace.[3] A mine was opened and a successful effort made to work it. The men employed were provided with food and clothing by the Company, whilst the adventurers of Southampton Hundred allowed them the use of five kine.[4] The cost of setting up the iron works was in 1621 calculated by Sir Edwin Sandys to be four thousand pounds,[5] but it is stated by other authorities to have been as much as five thousand.[6] According to the assertion of the enemies of the Southampton administration, the only practical return which the Company obtained for this enormous outlay was an iron shovel, a pair of tongs,

[1] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 123.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

[3] Relation of Waterhouse, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 338.

[4] Company's Letter to Governor and Council of Virginia, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 310.

[5] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 122.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 148.

and a bar of iron.[1] To such a point of perfection, however, had the works been brought by this expenditure of money, that in 1622, it was confidently anticipated by those in charge that in three months they would be in a position to forward large quantities of raw iron to England. Very soon, however, the massacre by the Indians brought destruction to the little settlement on Falling Creek. The tools were destroyed or thrown into the river by the savages,[2] and the workmen, with the exception of a boy and girl, were killed.

The attack upon the iron works at Falling Creek and its results, disheartening as they were, did not at the moment diminish the interest in that undertaking felt both by the Company in England and by the colonial authorities. But for the revocation of the charter of the former, it is highly probable that the works would have been restored and the manufacture of iron resumed. After receiving information of the massacre, the Company instructed the Governor and Council in Virginia to place the men surviving, who had been connected with the iron works, in charge of Mr. Maurice Berkeley, to be employed by him elsewhere until the works could be set in operation. In the meanwhile, a note of what tools would be needed when the manufacture began the second time was to be transmitted to England. The Company declared that it would know no quiet until the works were again perfected, since they regarded them as abso-

[1] *Randolph MSS.*, p. 212.

[2] Letter of General Assembly in Reply to the King, March 26, 1628, *British State Papers, Colonial Papers*, vol. IV, No. 45; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1628*, p. 178, Va. State Library. Among the most interesting relics preserved in the building of the Virginia Historical Society at Richmond is some of the slag produced in the Falling Creek furnace. It was picked up on the ground nearly two and a half centuries after the destruction of the works.

lutely necessary to the prosperity of the Colony.[1] The colonial officers showed great willingness to respond to this spirit, and seem to have taken some steps looking to the restoration of the furnace.

Five years after the massacre, William Capps, who had a few years before been in correspondence with the Warwick faction among the members of the Company, being at that time a resident of the Colony, was sent by the King to Virginia with a general commission to establish a number of industries, including the manufacture of iron.[2] The Governor and Council expressed the utmost readiness to give Capps all the assistance in their power, but he became involved in trouble very soon, and before he could put any of his plans in operation, was forced to leave the country.[3] A proposition was made to the King in 1628 to incorporate a number of persons residing in England, whose names were subscribed, with special privileges for manufacturing iron in Virginia. They petitioned for the exclusive right, during fourteen years, of producing that commodity in the Colony, and also sought exemption from customs, subsidies, and other duties in importing it into England. There is no evidence that this charter was granted, but the desire to obtain it indicates that the demand for iron in the mother country

[1] Company's Letter to Governor and Council in Virginia, 1622, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 329. In a letter from the Company, dated Aug. 6, 1623, they state that they send over nine men to make iron by a "blomery." These men were to be assisted by private persons, who were to receive shares in their profit. If such persons declined to take any part in it, the tenants of the Company were to be required to give aid. The iron workers were to be seated at Martin's Hundred, or "some commodious place." *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 174.

[2] King to Governor and Council of Virginia, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 32; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1627*, p. 164, Va. State Library.

[3] Examinations taken Nov. 2, 1629, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. V, No. 32; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1629*, p. 209, Va. State Library.

had directed the attention of many enterprising Englishmen to Virginia as a place where that material could be manufactured at a profitable rate. In the same year, probably in reply to an inquiry from the English Government, the Governor and Council state that they had recently sent ore to England, presumably from Falling Creek, declaring at the same time, that the cost of restoring the works and importing operatives was too great to be assumed by the Colony.[1]

In 1630, Governor Harvey made a journey to the site of the old iron works on Falling Creek, with a view to discovering whether they could be restored. He found the spot surrounded by a heavy growth of timber sufficient to supply an abundance of fuel. There was a bold stream near by, from which water could be procured; and also a large bed of freestone and numerous outcroppings of iron ore. As a result of the impressions received on this visit, he wrote to the authorities in England that all the conditions of the locality were favorable to the reëstablishment of the works; he sent over at the same time two specimens of ore, one of which he had obtained from the valley of the Upper James, probably near the Falls of the river, the other from the valley of the Lower. A few years later, Sir John Zouch and his son seem to have taken steps to establish iron works in Virginia,[2] but the project collapsed on account of the failure of their partners to come to their assistance.[3] The cost of reviving

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 45; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1628*, p. 178, Va. State Library.

[2] Governor Harvey to Dorchester, Two Letters, *British State Papers, Colonial*, No. V, April 15, 1630; May 29, 1630; *McDonald Papers*, vol. II, pp. 32, 45, Va. State Library.

[3] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 232. Sir John stated in his will that his son "had lost two hundred and fifty pounds in the iron works and as much more of my own." *William and Mary College Quarterly* for April, 1893, p. 196.

the manufacture of iron in the Colony was so great that practical interest in it died out for a period of many years.

The author of the *New Description of Virginia*, published in 1649, recognized the possibilities of iron manufacture in the Colony. He dwelt at length on the number of the streams there to furnish water for the works, the amount of the wood to supply fuel, the quantity of stone suitable for the construction of furnaces, and the abundance of ore. He declared that works of this kind would be as valuable as a silver mine, since their product could be used not only for plantation purposes but also in building ships, casting ordnance, and making armor and muskets. There were many laborers in Virginia whose services could be easily secured, and it would entail but a small cost to provide for them, since food was plentiful. He stated that it would require only six months to erect the works, and that the charge for importing skilled men and the necessary tools ought not to exceed four hundred pounds sterling. The expensiveness of iron manufacture in the Colony appears from the suggestion of the author of the *New Description of Virginia*, that the undertakers of a new enterprise, with this object in view, should give their workmen one-half of the annual product, instead of paying them definite wages, in case of a successful issue to their operations; the scheme would thus be carried out on the coöperative principle, probably the first instance in colonial history in which it was proposed that this principle should be given a practical test.[1]

In 1657–58, a law was passed by the General Assembly, prohibiting the exportation of iron, in addition to hides and wool.[2] This was expressly intended to apply to old iron only.[3] The object of the law, so far as that com-

[1] New Description of Virginia, p. 5, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.
[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 488. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

modity was concerned, was to promote the blacksmith's trade, but as it did not accomplish this among the other purposes for which it was designed, it was in 1658–59 repealed. In 1661–62, it was again enacted, only to be repealed a second time in 1671.[1] There is no indication of the manufacture of iron in Virginia in the period between the first enactment and the last repeal of this statute; in the interval, Berkeley had been instructed to report on the feasibility of establishing iron works in the Colony, the King having expressed a determination to erect these works at his own expense if the ore justified the great outlay necessary.[2] Berkeley in his reply discouraged the project on the ground that the quantity of iron ore in Virginia was not sufficient to keep one mill going for seven years.[3] Clayton, during his visit to the Colony, inquired into the practicability of carrying on iron manufacture there, and his conclusions were adverse to the undertaking. No one there, he wrote, had money enough to bear the expense of starting and sustaining iron works, and in view of the great distance rendering personal supervision impossible, it would be equally impracticable for a resident of the mother country to assume the risks of the enterprise.[4] In 1682, the original law prohibiting the exportation of iron, among other articles, which, as has been seen, was repealed in 1671, was reënacted in the hope of giving employment to many persons who were then idle and in want of the necessaries of life. The penalty for exporting a pound of the material was fixed at ten pounds of tobacco,[5] but this provision, like the original law, must

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 124, 287.

[2] Instructions to Berkeley, 1662, § 7, *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 418, Va. State Library.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 514.

[4] Clayton's *Virginia*, p. 27, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[5] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 493.

have been intended to apply to iron which had been brought into Virginia, since none appears to have been manufactured at this time in the Colony. Under the Act for the establishment of ports, which was passed in 1691, but never put in operation, a duty of one penny was imposed upon every pound exported.[1]

Much interest was shown by planters in the closing years of the century in finding out whether the ores in Virginia were adapted to iron making. Both Fitzhugh and Byrd shipped specimens to England to be examined there. In 1689, Fitzhugh sent a considerable quantity to Mr. Boyle for this purpose.[2] Byrd tested some of the lead ores by the use of a charcoal fire and a pair of hand bellows.[3]

As early as 1612, it was anticipated that Virginia would become an important seat of linen manufacture, owing to the adaptability of the soil to the production of flax. In this respect, it was considered superior to the soil of England. The early explorers confidently expected that in time the Colony would furnish the mother country with an abundant supply of linen, not only from the flax plant, which grew there in such profusion in a wild state, but also from the water-flag found in the marshes. This latter plant, when boiled, was found to yield an integument remarkable for the strength of its texture as well as for its length. From this product was derived a material that could be used, it was said at the time, in making the finest linen. Some portions of it were adapted, it was thought, to the manufacture of a stout and durable cordage. Two hundred pounds of this stuff were imported into England not long after the settlement of

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 63.
[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 10, 1690.
[3] *Letters of William Byrd*, May 20, 1684.

Virginia, and proved on trial to be of excellent quality both for show and use.[1]

In spite of the repeated instructions given by the authorities in England to the Governors of Virginia, in the long interval between 1612 and 1646, to promote the cultivation of flax, no persistent effort was made until the last year to manufacture linen in any quantity. In 1646, the General Assembly decided upon the erection of two houses at Jamestown for this purpose. They were to be built of substantial timber and were to be forty feet in length, twenty in width, and eight in pitch. The roofs were to be covered with boards properly sawed, and in the centre of each house, brick chimneys were to be placed. Each house was to be divided into rooms by convenient partitions. The different counties were respectively required to furnish two children, male or female, of the age of eight or seven years at least, whose parents were too poor to educate them, to be instructed in the art of carding, knitting, and spinning. In order that ample provision might be made for the health and comfort of the pupils, each county was required to supply the two children whom it sent, with six barrels of Indian corn, a sow, two laying hens, linen and woollen apparel, shoes, hose, a bed, rug, blanket, two coverlets, a wooden bowl or tray, and two pewter spoons. This law, whether fully carried out or not, reveals the interest which was felt in the Colony at this time in the manufacture of linen.[2]

It was during this period of colonial history that Captain Mathews, who resided at Blunt Point on the Lower James, was offering to the people of Virginia a notable illustration of the ease with which a planter, by skilful management of property, could procure within the bounds

[1] New Life of Virginia, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 336.

of his own estate all the supplies needed in carrying it on, whether springing directly from the soil and used in their natural state or after undergoing the process of manufacture. Among the numerous artificers who were found in the list of his servants and slaves, were spinners of the flax which he had produced in the cultivation of his own land.[1] There were probably other planters, contemporaries of Captain Mathews, who made a similar use of the same plant obtained in a like manner, and this continued through the interval preceding 1681. In that year, we find Colonel Fitzhugh writing to Thomas Mathew and congratulating him on his progress in manufacturing linen, and expressing the hope that it would be profitable, and at the same time, commending his example to all the landowners of the Colony.[2]

In 1682, at the instance of Lord Culpeper, a law for the encouragement of linen and woollen manufactures was passed, on the ground advanced by the Governor, that "it might be of some use," which reveals that previous observation had not led him to be very sanguine as to any important development of these industries.[3] The provisions as to the manufacture of linen were very complete in detail, but they show that there was no general effort on the part of the planters to convert their flax into this material. To every person who brought flax or hemp to the court of the county in which he resided, in a condition to be placed on the spindle, two pounds of tobacco were given for every pound of flax or hemp so presented, but it must have been the product of his own land. The certifi-

[1] New Description of Virginia, pp. 14, 15, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.

[2] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 3, 1681.

[3] Instructions to Culpeper, 1681-1682. His Reply to 72d clause, *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 171, Va. State Library.

cate which he received entitled him to be paid by the General Assembly out of the public levy. If the owner of the flax or hemp manufactured it into linen cloth, he was allowed six pounds of tobacco for every ell, which was to be three-quarters of a yard in width at the least. This linen was first examined by the county court, and proof of its being of the growth and manufacture of the owner had to be offered and accepted before the regular certificate could be obtained. Every tithable was required to produce either two pounds of flax, or hemp, or one pound of each, every year, and the penalty for the neglect of this regulation was the forfeiture of fifty pounds of tobacco. To ensure its performance, the heads of families and the overseers of servants and slaves were directed, before the annual levy was made, to appear before the nearest justice of the peace, and give in for each tithable under him, the amount of dressed flax or hemp prescribed by law.[1]

The statute was to continue in force until 1685, but it was repealed before its limitation was reached, on the ground that it imposed too heavy a burden on the public, both in the quantity of tobacco paid out under its provisions, and in the loss resulting from the passing of that commodity through the hands of officers. It was also stated that the advantages derived by the planters from this form of manufacture would be so great that there was needed no further encouragement to ensure its continuation.[2]

The disapproval which the English Government expressed with reference to the original regulation does not seem to have influenced the General Assembly in deciding to declare its provisions inoperative. Whether this was the case or not, the inventories placed on record in the county courts in the period between the repeal of the law and its

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 503. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 16.

reënactment show that there were few of the more important households in the Colony, in this interval, in which linen-stuffs were not manufactured for domestic uses. Linen-wheels are frequently enumerated.[1] In 1698, the statute offering a reward for the encouragement of linen production was again passed. This is only one among several instances disclosing how little attention was paid by the General Assembly to the opposition with which all colonial laws looking to the promotion of manufactures was regarded by the English authorities. Under the revived Act of 1693, the justices of the peace were required to levy upon the inhabitants of their respective counties a proportionate amount of tobacco for distribution among the persons who should present specimens of linen of their own manufacture, this linen to be at least fifteen ells in length and three-quarters of a yard in width. Each person claiming the reward was to bring forward three pieces representing different grades in texture. For the piece of the finest quality, eight hundred pounds of tobacco were to be allotted; for the piece of second rate quality, six hundred pounds, and for the piece of third rate, four hundred pounds. This Act was to continue in force until 1699.[2] The county records show that its rewards were claimed by local manufacturers of linen. One of the first instances entered was that of Thomas Chisman of York, who, in 1694, presented to the court of this county a piece of linen cloth which had been made in his dwelling-house by members of his family. On the same occasion, Thomas

[1] So numerous are the references to linen-wheels in this interval, that it would be impossible to give a full list of them. Among the articles in use which appear to have been very often made of this Virginian linen, were napkins. In one inventory, the Osborne, eighteen will be found included among the items of property belonging to the estate. See *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 350, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 135.

Fowler offered a similar piece. In the course of the same year, Chisman presented a second piece of linen cloth and was allowed eight hundred pounds of tobacco.[1] The same amount of tobacco was granted for the same reason to John Smith of Middlesex in 1695,[2] and to Thomas Cocke of Henrico.[3] In 1697, Tobias Hall of Lancaster claimed the reward for the production of this kind of cloth, and again in 1698.[4] Among the manufacturers of linen in Middlesex were Ralph Wormeley, who, in 1684, brought into court one hundred pounds of dressed flax fit for the spindle; Captain Henry Creyk, who presented seven yards of cloth; and Richard Parrott, who presented thirty-five yards. Thirty-three yards were offered by other persons.[5] In 1698, the court of Middlesex, replying to a communication from the Governor asking to what extent linen had been manufactured in this county, stated that the quantity had amounted annually to about fifty yards.[6]

No special attempt was made to foster by the offer of statutory encouragement the growth of domestic cotton manufacture, although Governor Andros, towards the close

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, pp. 60, 74, Va. State Library. An order of York court authorized the justices of the peace to pay the rewards prescribed by Act of Assembly; for the first piece of linen, 600 lbs. of tobacco; for the second, 400; for the third, 200. *Ibid.*, p. 222. This was in 1695.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1705, orders Nov. 12, 1695.

[3] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 606, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1696–1702, p. 32.

[5] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, April 9, 1684. A reward was granted to Mr. Bayley of Elizabeth City County in 1696 for a "prime piece of Lynen," 22 yards in length. See vol. 1684–1699, p. 117, Va. State Library. Also, in 1694, to Mrs. Sarah Emperor of Lower Norfolk (records for 1694, November 13) for "best linen cloth."

[6] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1705, p. 222. The court was doubtless only referring to what had been presented to them to secure the reward.

of the century, took steps to extend the culture of the plant in Virginia. There are many indications, however, that this material was spun in considerable quantities in the households of the people. In a letter written in 1685 to one of his correspondents in England, Colonel Byrd refers to the rivalry among his dependents as to who should spin the most cotton, and this was not an uncommon case, as is revealed by the number of spinning-wheels included in the inventories, the use of which could not have been confined to wool and flax.[1]

There was always a stronger opposition in England to the manufacture of woollen cloths in Virginia than to the manufacture of linen. The author of the *Nova Britannia*, which was written in the early part of the century for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Colony by calling the attention of the English people to the many advantages it offered, was careful to depreciate its adaptability to sheep husbandry. God, he declared, had denied sheep to Virginia, and yet among its population there was a rapidly increasing demand for clothing. He predicted that this would in the end cause the Colony to become a market of great importance for the sale of garments of English manufacture, and thus be the means of restoring the English trade in cloth, now fallen into a state of decay in spite of the anxiety in the mother country to reëstablish it.[2] From an early period, woollen manufactures were carried on in a small way in the homes of the planters, the quantity thus made being restricted rather by the paucity of sheep than by the limited facilities for production. Colonel Mathews, perhaps the leading citizen of Virginia in 1646,

[1] *Letters of William Byrd*, March 8, 1685. There are occasional references in the inventories of this period to cotton-cards. See *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 96.

[2] Nova Britannia, p. 22, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I.

not only spun linen from flax, but also wove cloth of wool. In the list of his employees there appear a number of artisans for this purpose.[1] In 1656, the authority was given to Northampton County to pass laws to promote and govern its own manufactures, among which the woollen were probably of importance.[2]

In 1659, a regulation was adopted prohibiting the exportation of wool, among other articles.[3] Seven years later, the difficulty of obtaining clothing from England to supply the needs of the people became so great that the General Assembly determined to take more active steps for the encouragement of domestic woollen manufactures. What could be accomplished in this direction had already been illustrated in Governor Berkeley's success in furnishing his own household. The Assembly estimated that five women, or the same number of children of ages not exceeding thirteen years, could provide clothing for thirty persons. In order to remove the objection that there were no looms in the Colony, the court of each county was instructed to set up one of these machines and to employ a weaver to work it. A failure to comply with this order exposed the court derelict to a fine of two thousand pounds of tobacco.[4] In 1668, the scope of this law was enlarged

[1] New Description of Virginia, pp. 14, 15, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II. It is stated by Aubrey that Davenant, the poet, when at Paris during the time of the Protectorate, "laid an ingenuous design to carry a considerable number of artificers, chiefly weavers, from thence to Virginia, and by Mary, the Queen Mother's, means he got favour from the King of France to go into the Prisons and pick and choose . . . he took thirty-six, as I remember, and not more, and shipped them, and as he was on his voyage to Virginia, he and his weavers were all taken by the ships then belonging to the Parliament of England."

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 396. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 488.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 238. One of the charges against Sir William Berkeley in the *Charles City Grievances*, 1676 (*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. III), was that he misappropriated the tobacco levied for the encouragement of weavers.

by conferring upon the commissioners of the different counties the authority to erect houses in which the children of indigent parents were to be taught the art of spinning and weaving as well as other trades, these children to be selected at the discretion of the commissioners.[1]

In 1671, the statute prohibiting the exportation of wool, among other articles, was repealed on the ground that the handicraftsmen whose trades it was designed to aid had failed to take advantage of it.[2] In 1682, it was reënacted. Wool and woolfels and the other articles named, the statute declared, were essential to the welfare of the people of the Colony, as furnishing necessary materials for use, and also as offering subsistence to many persons because they would find occupation in working them up. The penalty for exporting wool and woolfels was now placed at forty pounds of tobacco for every pound of these materials carried out of the country. The owner of the ship transporting it forfeited his interest in the vessel if aware of its presence on board, while the master and seamen were deprived of their goods and chattels for their participation in the act, besides being made subject to imprisonment for three months. If any person who had knowledge of the fact that a certain quantity of wool and woolfels were to be exported seized upon it, he was entitled to one-half of it as a reward for furnishing information as to its prospective illegal removal. The collectors were instructed to announce to every shipmaster arriving, the passage of this statute, and to insert in the entry bond of each one, a condition that he should observe its provisions.[3] With a view of encouraging the manufacture of the wool thus kept in Virginia, a second law was passed in 1682, which, as we have seen, was also applicable to linen, prescribing that six pounds of tobacco should be paid to every person who

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 266. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 287. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 493–497.

brought to the court of the county in which he resided, a yard of woollen cloth or linsey-woolsey three-quarters of a yard wide, the same to be examined in the manner required in the case of linen. The fact that it was of the growth and manufacture of the person delivering it, was also to be shown and embodied in the certificate to be presented to the Assembly to ensure the payment of the reward. Under the provisions of the same law, ten pounds of tobacco were granted to every one in the Colony who made a fur or woollen hat, and twelve pounds to the maker of every dozen pair of worsted hose for men and women.[1]

The rewards offered by these statutes had a strong influence in directing the attention of the planters to local woollen manufactures. In 1684, Ralph Wormeley produced before the court of Middlesex, fourteen yards of woollen cloth woven on his estate. Christopher Wormeley, on the same occasion, presented ninety-five yards, Captain Henry Creyk sixty-one, John Farrell fifty-five, and Richard Parrott thirty-four. Forty-five yards were brought in by different planters at subsequent meetings of the same court.[2] There is reason to think that persons in other counties took advantage of the same public inducements to manufacture woollen cloth.

As far as possible, the English authorities discouraged the manufacture of every form of cloth in Virginia, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that the statute prohibiting the exportation of wool and woolfels, and the statute passed to encourage woollen and linen production, should have been regarded with the strongest disapproval by the English Government.[3] In 1683, both measures

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 504.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, April 9, 1684.

[3] Additional Instructions to Howard, 1683, clause 6, *British State Papers, Colonial*, No. 82; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 293, Va. State Library.

were expressly disallowed by the commissioners of the customs on the ground that they diminished the correspondence between the mother country and the Colony; weakened the dependence of the colonial population upon England; curtailed the freight which was furnished to English shipping, and thus obstructed an increase in the number of English seamen; seriously narrowed the market for English woollen and other manufactures; advanced the cost of tobacco to the English consumer by raising the charges of navigation; and finally, reduced the volume of the customs.[1] It has been pointed out that the statute to encourage the growth of linen and woollen manufactures was repealed in 1684, but for reasons which did not include the opposition of the English Government to its continuation. In spite of the adverse report of the commissioners, this law was revived in 1686, to continue in force for four years, and was again reënacted at the end of that time, to remain in operation until the close of 1694.[2] In the famous Act for Ports, a duty of six pence was placed on exported wool. The determination of the local authorities to establish woollen manufactures was shown in 1693 in the valuable privileges extended to all persons who proposed to erect fulling mills; if such persons owned land on but one side of a stream, they could have condemned an acre on the other side for the convenience of carrying on the work of their mills, provided that there were no housings or orchards on the tracts thus appropriated.[3]

[1] Report of the Commissioners of Customs, 1683, *British State Papers, Colonial*, No. 82; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 269, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 50.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 110. It was in this year that the Act for reviving the "Act for the Advancement of the Manufactures of the Growth of this Country" was suspended by proclamation of Governor Andros. See *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1679–1694, p. 606.

During his tenure of the governorship, Nicholson recommended to the English Government that measures should be adopted to discourage woollen manufactures in the Colony, an additional indication that the opposition of the mother country to these manufactures had proved ineffective. Nicholson was justly charged by Beverley with gross inconsistency in this recommendation, for in the same letter, he had informed the English authorities that the price of tobacco had sunk to such a point that the people were unable to purchase clothing, which, as Beverley remarked with some bitterness, left it to be inferred that the planters were to go naked.[1] Nicholson was really advising Parliament to pass a law which it was impossible for that body to put in operation. To suppress the branch of domestic manufacture to which he referred, it would have been necessary to instruct constables to visit the different homes in their respective districts and destroy every loom and spindle. It is easy to see how such a duty, if performed at all, would have been performed with reluctance by the officers of the law, in consequence of their sympathy with their own people and the injury which they would have been inflicting upon their own interests. It is even probable that these officers would have openly connived at the disregard of such an Act of Parliament, on the part of the population at large; but, admitting that they might have sought with zeal and honesty to carry out their instructions, the distance between the plantations, and the remote life which the inhabitants led, would have been fatal obstacles to success in any attempt to put an end to local manufactures altogether. A prohibitory Act of this kind would not have had the approval of any class in the Colony, and the welfare of the whole population would have prompted a general combination to defeat the officers of the law.

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, pp. 83, 84.

Parliament was too wise to consider the suggestion of Nicholson seriously; but in 1699, it adopted the rule that no wool or woollen goods produced by the plantations in America should be transported from one Colony to another, or from one point in a Colony to another point in the same Colony, or to any foreign place whatever.[1] Only a few years before, the English Government had expressed the most emphatic disapproval of the order passed by the General Assembly forbidding the exportation of wool or woolfels, on the ground that it conflicted with the spirit of the Navigation laws. England had now become apprehensive lest the transfer of wool and woolfels from Colony to Colony should diminish the volume of her own trade in clothing with her American possessions. There was in the statute no prohibition of the making of woollen goods for private use.

It was the logical effect of these restrictive laws relating to navigation and the exportation of wool and woollen products, that they stimulated a manufacturing spirit in the Colonies. The Navigation Acts were passed chiefly because England was unable to compete with Holland in the carrying trade of the world owing to the greater cheapness with which a cargo could be transported in the bottoms of the latter nationality. The exclusion of the Dutch had signified to the planters of Virginia not only the payment of higher freight rates in the conveyance of their tobacco to England, but the payment, moreover, of higher prices for the goods which they purchased from the English merchants for their servants, slaves, and their own families. This resulted from the fact, that now that the competition of the Hollanders was removed, the merchants of the mother country were only restrained in their charges by competition among themselves. During the years in which

[1] 10 and 11 William and Mary, ch. X.

the value of tobacco sank very low, any addition to the rates of transportation, however small, or to the price of manufactured articles imported, however trivial, had a serious effect in still further depressing the condition of the people. At once, there arose a desire to make at home all the goods which were needed in the plantation households.[1] This was a measure of economy inevitably suggested by the circumstances. On several occasions, the House of Burgesses boldly protested against the imposition of new duties on tobacco, on the ground that all measures tending to reduce the profits of the Virginians in the commodity inclined them to turn their attention to manufacturing on their own account, because their ability to purchase articles of English production had been impaired.[2] In an address by the Governor and Council to the Privy Council in 1692, that body was warned that unless the people were supplied from the mother country with an abundance of the goods which they needed and at the proper season in the year, "great inconveniences were likely to follow by the planters being forced to betake themselves, as many of them had already begun, to the improving and making several commodities"[3] usually brought to them from England.

It will be seen from this quotation that the authorities of the Colony looked upon a general system of local manufactures as a condition precipitated by low prices or de-

[1] This was observed in a marked degree in 1681. In the course of that year, William Fitzhugh wrote to a correspondent in England, "that little wool was to be obtained in his part of Virginia at that time, because it had been converted by the people into wearing apparel." August 24, 1681.

[2] Address of Burgesses to the King, November, 1685, *British State Papers, Colonial Entry Book*, Virginian Assembly No. 86; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VII, p. 331, Virginia State Library. See also Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, pp. 34, 35.

[3] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, pp. 38, 39. See also Beverley's *History of Virginia*, pp. 261, 262.

ficient supplies from abroad. There was no disposition among the inhabitants to foster manufactures on a large and important scale independently of the pressure of these merely temporary influences. They probably did not seriously object to the Act of Parliament of 1699, since it was in direct conformity, so far as wool was concerned, with the letter and spirit of their own statute passed in 1682. The Virginians, when they made clothing at all, made it not for shipment, but for their own use. The Colony was not sufficiently adapted to sheep husbandry at this early period to render the exportation of wool very profitable, and there was no prospect of its becoming a seat of woollen manufactures beyond the point of supplying the needs of its own plantations. As early as 1700, it had grown to be the habit of the people to mix cotton, linen, and wool in the manufacture of coarse garments for the use of their negroes and white servants, but although this form of manufacture was carried to such a point of development by 1710 that one county alone in that year produced forty thousand yards of woollen, cotton, and linen cloth, nevertheless, it was expressly stated by Spotswood that this manufacture had sprung from necessity rather than from inclination; that the people gave little promise of attaining to skill in it; and that the clothing obtained in this manner really cost more than that which was imported when tobacco was commanding a high price.[1]

While the amount of clothing manufactured in the households of the planters was always diminished by any advance in the value of tobacco, since their ability to buy English goods of this character was thereby increased, there is no reason to think that in any year or series of years, however prosperous, the manufacture of woollen garments for rough domestic use fell into abeyance. From

[1] *Letters of Governor Spotswood*, vol. I, p. 72.

the middle of the century to the close, there are few inventories of large personal estates among the items of which wool-cards and woollen-wheels do not appear. A few instances drawn from different periods may be given. Edward Jones of Henrico had four spinning-wheels; William Porteus of Lower Norfolk and Richard Pargatis of Middlesex, two each; John Nicholls of Lower Norfolk and Nicholas Gage of Lancaster, one each.[1] Joseph Croshaw of York left three woollen-wheels.[2] In 1670, a woollen-wheel and two reels formed a part of the Hubbard estate,[3] and also of the estate of John March of the same county.[4] A pair of wool-cards were in the same year included in the Bond estate.[5] The Newell estate possessed nine pairs.[6] John Collins of York owned eleven and John Hubbard eight wool-cards,[7] William Marshall of Elizabeth City eighteen,[8] Henry Spratt of Lower Norfolk five,[9] and Henry Jones of Henrico four, and Thomas Osborne two.[10] The

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, pp. 628, 630, Va. State Library; *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1703, p. 22; *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 96; *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 97; *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, vol. 1686–1695, p. 198. The references to woollen-wheels in the records of this county are very numerous.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 256, Va. State Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 464.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 40. The list of owners of woollen-wheels might be extended almost indefinitely. In some cases, the wheel and support were made of black walnut. See Henry Randolph's estate, *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 428, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 448, Va. State Library.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 140.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 105; *Ibid.*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 319, Va. State Library.

[8] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 300, Va. State Library.

[9] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 95.

[10] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, pp. 351, 630, Va. State Library.

inventories of Middlesex, Lancaster, and the Eastern Shore disclose an equal number.

The presence of the loom is also shown in a number of cases. In 1668, William Parker, a former servant of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., owned and operated a machine of this character in York with valuable encouragement from the county.[1] Many years later, there was recorded in Elizabeth City an indenture, by the terms of which John Stringer was bound out for a period of five years to serve as an apprentice of Charles Combs and his wife in the trade of a weaver.[2] John West of Lower Norfolk, William Glover, William Cocke, and Martin Elam of Henrico, John Wallop of Accomac, and Charles Kelly of Lancaster were owners of looms.[3] William Phillips, also of Accomac, a weaver by profession, was a man of property; in 1696, he is found buying a plantation in that county covering one hundred acres.[4] The manufacture of these looms extended to blankets and to flannel.[5]

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 285, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 113, Va. State Library. In 1689, Stringer had bound himself out as an apprentice to a cooper. See *Ibid.*, p. 361. Edmond Swansy of this county also owned a loom. *Ibid.*, p. 494.

[3] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 199; *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, pp. 284, 706, Va. State Library; *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1692–1715, p. 18; *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1696–1702, p. 96. There are also many references to wool-combs.

[4] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1692–1715, p. 118.

[5] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1692–1707, pp. 235, 253; *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 652. The inventory of William Taylor of Accomac County included "35 yards of Virginia cloth," original vol. 1692–1715, p. 201. References to "Virginia stockings" will be found in *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders April 9, 1684, and in *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 292, Va. State Library. For Virginian cloth, napkins, and towels, see *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 350. It should be borne

The wills of the seventeenth century on record in the county courts indicate that there were many negroes, more especially of the female sex, who had been carefully educated to take part in domestic manufacture. After the cloth had been made, it was converted into suits, either by the slaves or by the servants. Byrd, in his instructions to his English merchants to send him mechanics, occasionally wrote for a tailor, stating that the term of the one then in his employment was on the point of expiring.[1] The conditions upon which such tradesmen were engaged doubtless varied in different instances. The covenants into which Luke Mathews, a tailor of Hereford, entered with Thomas Landon of Virginia were probably fairly representative; Mathews bound himself to serve Landon for a period of two years, his term to begin when he reached the Colony; the remuneration was to be six pence a day when working for members of Landon's family, but when for other persons, he was to be entitled to one-half of the proceeds of his labor, whatever it might be.[2]

There were cases in which tailors bound by covenants had, before the date of their indentures, acquired or inherited such large means, or had enjoyed such opportunities

in mind that only a portion of the county records of the seventeenth century have survived to the present day. Those which were destroyed would have thrown still further light on the extent of local manufacture.

[1] *Letters of William Byrd*, May 31, 1686. One of the white servants of Robert Beverley, Sr., was a tailor, who very probably had been imported. See inventory on file at Middlesex C. H. Among the servants who were brought over in the First Supply (1608) were six tailors. A tailor formed one of the company of voyagers of 1607. See *Works of Capt. John Smith*, pp. 390, 412. In many cases, the wealthy planters imported from England the clothes worn by these servants and slaves. See *Letters of William Byrd*, May 31, 1686.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1703, p. 14. Landon afterwards removed for a time to Carolina, and before doing so, entered into a second agreement with Mathews. See *Ibid.*, p. 116.

to accumulate property in the hours during which they were not engaged for their masters, that they were able to purchase their freedom.[1] Many of the persons who followed this calling secured a livelihood by working by the day or by the special task. In 1678, Philip Thomas of Henrico brought in a statement of indebtedness against Captain Crews of that county, which showed that he had for forty-two days and a half been employed in the service of the latter under an agreement promising him twenty pounds of tobacco each day. Among the other articles of clothing made by Thomas during this time was a pair of leather drawers.[2] In 1692, the estate of Robert Booth owed to John Bradford, a tailor, the sum of one pound sterling, eighteen shillings and six pence.[3] William Murray of Elizabeth City County was, in 1697, sued by John Nelson, also a tailor, for the amount which had been determined upon as his reward for services extending over six weeks. This was one thousand pounds of tobacco.[4] Some years previously a tailor residing in Rappahannock County had charged forty pounds of tobacco for making a coat, seventy for making a leather waistcoat, and ninety for making a complete suit.[5] The charges in Lancaster at this time were somewhat higher. The remuneration asked for making a coat was sixty pounds of tobacco, and for a pair of breeches twenty pounds.[6] Hatters were not un-

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, p. 200, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 154, Va. State Library. These "drawers" were probably a pair of breeches, as this term was in that age very often applied to this article of dress.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 180, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, pp. 150, 164, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, p. 248, Va. State Library.

[6] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 79. The

known in the Colony; William Harrison of Henrico followed this trade, and the names of others might be mentioned.[1]

A curious instance which throws light upon the social standing of the men in the Colony who were engaged in these trades is recorded in York County. James Bullock, a tailor, entered into a wager with Mr. Mathew Slader that in a race to take place between their horses he would prove the winner. The court, instead of allowing him the amount agreed upon in the bet, which he seems to have won, fined him one hundred pounds of tobacco, on the ground that it was illegal for laborers to participate in horse-racing, this being a sport reserved exclusively for gentlemen. Tailors, nevertheless, were considered sufficiently respectable to act as the attorneys of leading planters in special transactions, and also in a long course of business.[2]

There are numerous indications that the tailors enjoyed a large measure of prosperity. In 1674, Henry Chaney of Accomac, a member of this trade, purchased a planta-

following tailor's bill is from the Lancaster records, original vol. 1690-1709, p. 79: "John Mallis, Dr, for work done, 205 lbs. tobacco; allowed George Chilton, for one garment, 50 lbs.; Thos. Yerby, Dr, for work done, 225 lbs.; John Davis, Dr, for making seven women's jackets, 70 lbs.; for making a coat for yr wife, 60 lbs.; for altering a pair of plush britches, 20 lbs.; Henry Stonam, Dr, for yr wife and daughter's jackett, 30 lbs.; for yr britches, 20 lbs.; coat, 40 lbs.; yr boys' jackets, 20 lbs.; yr son's britches, 25 lbs.; ye eldest son's ticking suite, 60 lbs.; John Travers' ticking suite, 60 lbs.; Wm. Smith, Dr to making one vest and loose coat, 90 lbs.; Wm. Goodridge, Dr, to making a dimity waistcoat, serge suite, 2 cotton waistcoats, and yr dimity coat, 185 lbs.; Richard Alderson, Dr, for a pr. of buff gloves, 100 lbs.; for one neck cloth, 12 lbs.; a pr. stockings, etc., 120 lbs.; for a pr. leather britches, pr. Callimanco britches, 60 lbs.; for a coat making, 40 lbs." This bill was brought into court by John Daniell, administrator of Noah Rogers.

[1] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 229, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 84, Va. State Library.

tion which included one thousand acres in its area.[1] A few years previous to this, John Watterson of Northampton had bought four hundred and forty-four acres.[2] In Rappahannock, towards the close of the century, Joseph Smith, Thomas Winslow, and Herman Skilderman are found selling large tracts of land which they owned.[3] John Elder of Lower Norfolk purchased three hundred and seven acres. A few years later, John Winder of the same county bought one hundred.[4] In 1660, John Walker of Lancaster was in possession of four hundred and thirty acres; and a few years afterwards, John Carpenter of the same county sold five hundred,[5] and Nicholas West of Middlesex purchased two hundred.[6] It is probable that in all of these instances the area of ground held by the tailors named was very much in excess of that which has been mentioned.

The list of artificers for whom the London Company advertised in 1609 did not include tanners, curriers, and shoemakers, from which it would be inferred that the corporation expected to furnish the settlers with shoes from England in addition to every other form of clothing.[7]

[1] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1673–1675, p. 192.

[2] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1666–1668, p. 32.

[3] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1695–1699, pp. 76, 170; *Ibid.*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 148; see also John Owen, *Ibid.*, vol. 1682–1692, pp. 79, 80, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1666–1675, p. 117; *Ibid.*, vol. 1675–1686, p. 23. Bryant Cahill, a tailor, owned two lots in Norfolk town in 1692. *Ibid.*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 186. William Simpson, another tailor, owned one lot in York town. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1691–1701, p. 195, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1654–1702, p. 390; *Ibid.*, vol. 1666–1682, p. 35. Thomas Thompson of this county was also a landowner. See *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[6] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1673–1685, p. 72.

[7] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, pp. 353, 355.

This is confirmed by the enumeration given by the author of *Nova Britannia* of the artificers whose services would be required in Virginia; it is significant to note that the tradesmen just named were omitted, the explanation being that the author was anxious to advance the interests of the Colony, and was, therefore, careful not to present it as a possible rival of the English people in any branch of trade in which they were largely engaged. He wished to make them favorable to Virginia by showing that an increase in its population would cause it to become a larger market for the sale of English manufactured goods, and in that character grow in importance each year. In the broadside issued by the Company in 1611, tanners and shoemakers were among those to whom inducements to emigrate were offered;[1] and these inducements proved effective, for it is known that there were shoemakers and tanners in the Colony in 1616 who followed their trades as well as cultivated the ground.[2] It is evident, however, that the Company was still anxious not to create the impression in England that the settlers would be able to manufacture their own supply of shoes. When a committee was appointed from among its members to report upon the best course to be pursued in the development of the lands assigned to the College in Virginia, they recommended that smiths, carpenters, bricklayers, brickmakers, potters, and husbandmen should be sent over,[3] but made no reference to tanners, curriers, and shoemakers, who, it is true, were not especially needed to carry out the purpose in view. In 1648, Samuel Mathews, in addition to having spinners and weavers among his servants

[1] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 445.

[2] Rolfe's Virginia in 1616, *Va. Historical Register*, vol. I, No. III, p. 107.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 12.

and slaves, owned a tannery and employed eight shoemakers, a number so great that they must have been engaged in part in making shoes for sale.

There are many indications in the records of the latter half of the seventeenth century that both tanners and shoemakers constituted a class of importance in the Colony, including those who were free as well as those who were serving under articles of indenture. It was not infrequent that the sons of planters were apprenticed to these trades.[1] Beverley declared that the workmanship of the tanner and shoemaker was so careless and defective that the people were unwilling to use the product of their rude skill whenever shoes of English manufacture could be obtained. This statement was undoubtedly exaggerated. That shoes made in the mother country were preferred, was natural enough, but that the trade either of the tanner or the shoemaker languished in Virginia is not borne out by the facts recorded in the books of the county courts. There were few planters of easy fortune who did not, like Colonel Mathews, have tradesmen of this character in their employment. Colonel Edmund Scarborough, in a complaint which he entered in the court of Northampton County in 1662, mentions incidentally that he had nine shoemakers in his service, and that he had been at a heavy charge in tanning leather and making shoes. It is probable that he was a party to a contract with the local authorities for supplying the public wants in these particulars. He petitioned that Nathaniel Bradford, a currier by trade, should be punished for his failure to perform the duties which the law imposed upon all who followed that business.[2] Bradford was the

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1695–1699, p. 112, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1657–1664, p. 153. The

owner of a tan-house and a shoemaker's shop, and at the time of his death was in possession of three hundred and eighteen hides and forty-six lasts.[1] Daniel Harrison of Lancaster gave employment to three shoemakers. His personal estate included, when appraised, one hundred and twenty-two sides of leather, seventy-two pairs of shoes, thirty-seven awls, and twenty-six paring knives, twelve dozen lasts, and numerous currier's and tanner's tools.[2] Richard Willis and Ralph Wormeley, who were planters of wealth, left large quantities of sole leather[3] and hides. This was also true of Mathew Hubbard of York.[4]

The leading planters were in the habit of importing shoemakers from England for the same reasons that moved them to bring in representatives of other trades. Fitzhugh, writing to John Cooper, one of his London correspondents, in 1692, requests him to send over to Virginia several shoemakers, with lasts, awls, and knives,

following is from the York records: "It is this day agreed between ye Court on behalf of themselves and ye whole County of York, and William Heyward Calvert, who intermarried with the relict of John Heyward decd, and the said William did for his part engage himself and negroes that ye tanne house and pitts and other things appertaining shall be maintained and kept at his and their charge as ye County's tan house and pitts for 7 years from this time, (the same being on ye said John Heyward's plantation in New Poquoson), also to take all ye hydes of ye County that shall be brought him and allow for them according to Act of Assembly, also to tann, curry and make shoes of ye said hides and sell them at ye ratio appointed by ye said Act. In consideration whereof the Court hereby order that ye said William shall have paid him and his heirs at ye next leavy 4400 lbs. of tobacco as convenient as can be." *Records of York*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 373, Va. State Library.

[1] *Records of Northampton County*, original vol. 1682–1697, f. p. 213.

[2] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1674–1678, f. p. 43.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 73; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1694–1703, p. 128.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 468, Va. State Library.

together with half a hundred shoemaker's thread, some twenty or thirty gallons of train oil and proper colorings for leather. He had set up a tan-house and wished to convert the product into shoes on his own plantation.[1] The need of importing shoemakers was probably greater in the Northern Neck, in which part of the Colony Fitzhugh resided, than in the older communities, where the representatives of the trades were more numerous and more skilful.

The county records of that period contained many indentures between planters and shoemakers. Of these, a fair example was the contract between Robert Cate and Peter Wyke of Henrico in 1679. Cate entered into bonds to serve Wyke for a term of four years. He was to be exempted from the task of planting and tending tobacco, but was required to perform all other agricultural work; he was to receive by way of remuneration, food, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and when his agreement expired, a good suit and three barrels of Indian corn were to be given him. It will be observed that while Cate was engaged principally for his knowledge of the shoemaker's trade, he was also expected to make himself useful in other branches of industry.[2] This was probably the case with all classes of mechanics who earned a livelihood in the employment of landowners in the seventeenth century.

Many of the tanners were men of considerable property. The personalty of Roger Long of York was valued at sixty-four pounds and fifteen shillings, and he owned in the form of debts to him, fourteen thousand pounds of tobacco.[3] In several instances in Lower Norfolk County, members

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 4, 1692.

[2] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 85, Va. State Library.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 475, Va. State Library.

of this trade bought or disposed of valuable and extensive tracts of land. Thus in 1691, James Jackson sold one hundred acres, and George Valentine purchased one hundred and fifty.[1] A few years previously, Thomas Nicolson of Accomac had sold four hundred.[2] The shoemakers of the Colony were probably in possession of still larger areas of ground. In 1681, Joseph Carling of Lower Norfolk bought one hundred acres; James Loun, a few years later, the same number, and Benjamin Robert one-half that area.[3] Thomas Sadler, a shoemaker of Rappahannock, purchased one hundred acres of land on a single occasion.

If the leather produced in the Colony was as defective as Beverley represented it to have been,[4] the fact was not to be attributed to lack of legislative attention; tanners, curriers, and shoemakers were subject to very careful restrictions in following their callings. In order to ensure its proper condition, no leather was to be thrown into the vat until the lime had been thoroughly soaked, nor was the leather to be allowed to remain there until it had become over-limed. The currier was not permitted to use salt in its preparation, and if he did so, he was to pay the owner of the hide ten shillings as a fine for the offence. He was suffered to charge two shillings and six pence for a bundle of ten hides or six dozen calf-skins. The shoemaker was forbidden to work up leather which had not been legally sealed as well-tanned and well-curried. He was to use only thread that was sound, twisted, and waxed or rosined. The stitches were to be drawn with the utmost care. The inspectors or viewers were

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 164; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1675–1686, p. 114.

[2] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1676–1690, p. 159.

[3] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 104; *Ibid.*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. pp. 153, 179.

[4] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 239.

instructed to appropriate all leather that was badly tanned or curried, and all boots, shoes, and bridles manufactured from defective material. Six persons were appointed as inspectors and they were required to perform their duties in open court. Acceptance of bribes, or the exaction of a larger amount than was sanctioned by the law, exposed them to a fine of twenty pounds sterling. If they refused to place their stamp on leather of good quality, they were mulcted forty shillings. Five pounds sterling constituted the penalty for declining to accept the office of inspector. Under the provisions of this law, leather consisted of the skin of the ox, steer, bull, cow, calf, deer, goat, and sheep.[1]

The first Act interdicting the exportation of hides from Virginia was passed in 1632. It was designed to apply to the skins of deer as well as to the skins of all sorts of domestic animals. The same provisions were shortly reënacted, furs, such as those of the beaver and otter, for example, being excepted from its scope.[2] In 1645, a prohibition was laid upon the shipment of raw hides and leather, together with a variety of other articles specified in the same statute.[3] In the succeeding year, this regulation was repealed. Seventeen years later, the exportation of hides as well as of wool and iron was strictly forbidden, the penalty incurred in violating the law falling only upon the buyer. At the following session of the Assembly, the penalty was extended to the seller, this penalty amounting to one thousand pounds of tobacco. In the Act passed in the course of this year,

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, pp. 75–80. An instance of the seizure of defective leather will be found in *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 271, Va. State Library. See, for appointment of viewers, *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders March 1, 1691–1692; Feb. 6, 1692–1693; purchase of seal, *Ibid.*, orders Dec. 4, 1693.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp. 174, 199.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 307.

deer and calf skins were declared to be included in the meaning of the word "hide."[1]

The scope of the original Act was in 1665 again extended. The penalty for shipping hides from the Colony had previously been restricted to the buyer and seller, but it was now made to apply to all tanners who sought to export leather and shoes, and to all masters of vessels who received these articles. By the original law, a large ship was permitted by special license to carry out eight hides, and smaller ships a number in proportion to their size, according to what was calculated to be sufficient for the needs of their crews. The collector issued the licenses before the hides were brought on board, and the masters and commanders of vessels were liable for an excess over the number allowed by a special clause in their bonds. For every hide or skin beyond this number exported, the seller, whether a tanner or not, was fined one thousand pounds of tobacco, and the same penalty was imposed upon the shipmaster or commander who received it. For every pair of shoes transported from the country, the seller and buyer forfeited one hundred pounds of the same commodity.[2]

All the laws relating to the exportation of hides, as well as of iron and wool, were repealed in 1671 on the ground that the tradesmen whom it was intended to benefit had failed to derive any advantage from them.[3] It is difficult to see how the welfare of the tanners, curriers, and shoemakers in the Colony could be advanced materially by enactments expressly prohibiting the shipment of dressed leather and shoes, but this clause was inserted probably to remove the apprehension of the English Government lest Virginia should become an active com-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 124, 179, 185.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 216. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

petitor of the English shoe manufacturers in countries lying outside of its own borders. The Assembly had, in 1660, adopted rules which would furnish this class of workmen, it was supposed, with an ample market at home. Each county was instructed to erect a tan-house and to employ tanners, curriers, and shoemakers. There was appointed for each house an overseer, who was directed to receive all hides brought in, paying two pounds of tobacco for each pound of hide. To the persons presenting hides he was required to sell plain shoes at the rate of thirty pounds a pair. French falls of the largest size were to be sold to such persons at the rate of thirty-five pounds a pair, whilst those of the smallest were to be sold at twenty pounds. A penalty of five thousand pounds of tobacco was imposed upon every county that failed to erect a tan-house in pursuance of this legislative act.[1]

By the law of 1682, the rule prohibiting the exportation of hides and skins, tanned and untanned, together with the other articles named, was reëstablished on the ground, as has already been pointed out, that it would give employment to many idle and suffering people, besides supplying the Colony with manufactured goods. The penalty for sending out hides and skins, or leather worked up into wearing apparel, was, by the terms of this measure, fixed at one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco. The shipowner and seamen detected in the act of transporting these articles from Virginia, were subject to the same punishment as we have seen imposed in the case of wool. The duty of the collectors was the same.[2]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 123. It was under the provisions of this law that the tan-house belonging to York County, referred to in a previous note, was maintained.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 493. The number of skins exported by a single person was often very large. In March, 1682, Richard Buller petitioned the Privy Council for the restoration of one thousand skins, which had been seized

In 1682, a dressed buckskin was appraised at two shillings four pence and three-quarters, and one undressed at a shilling and two and a quarter pence; the value of a dressed doeskin was fixed at one shilling and nine and a half pence; if undressed, at eleven pence.[1] In the Act for Ports, passed in 1691, but never put in operation, an export duty was laid upon all skins and furs shipped from the Colony, this being tantamount to a repeal of the law forbidding their exportation. On every raw hide, the export duty was one shilling; on every tanned hide, two shillings; on every buckskin, dressed or undressed, eight pence; on every doeskin, dressed or undressed, five pence; on every elkskin, one shilling. A duty was also placed on the skins of beaver, otter, raccoon, wild-cat, mink, and muskrat.[2]

In 1693, an export duty was laid on skins for the benefit of William and Mary College; on every raw hide, the tax was three pence; on every tanned hide, six pence; on every dressed buckskin, one penny and three farthings; on every undressed buckskin, one penny; on every doeskin dressed, one penny halfpenny; on every undressed doeskin, three farthings. A graduated tax was also laid on the skins of the beaver, otter, raccoon, wild-cat, minx, fox, and muskrat.

Passing from articles of a general character to certain forms of food, or ingredients of food, manufactured in the Colony, it is found that an attempt to produce salt was made as early as 1616. Seventeen men, who were provided for at the expense of the Company, were established at Dale's Gift at Cape Charles in the course of that year

on account of the violation of the Act in force forbidding exportation of hides.

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 507.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 63.

for the purpose of engaging in this work.[1] For evaporation, they appear to have relied at first principally on the heat of the sun. Until Argoll assumed the administration of affairs, the people obtained their supplies of salt from this source,[2] but in the common wreck precipitated by his government, the little band of men were dispersed, and their appliances fell into decay;[3] this led to much suffering, as the settlers were forced to eat their pork and other meats in the fresh state. The distempers resulting from this necessity were so severe that the Company in 1620 decided to erect the salt works again, and in the following year Miles Pirket, who was skilled in salt-making, was sent to Virginia.[4] The object which the Company had in view was not only to furnish the people with the salt needed, but also in time to produce so great a quantity that all the fisheries on the American coast might look to the Colony for supplies of this article.[5] In 1621, John Pory was instructed by Yeardley to visit the Eastern Shore to select a spot combining the most conveniences for the proposed manufacture.[6] The supervision of the erection of the works was given to Maurice Berkeley, who had as his principal subordinate, Miles Pirkett, and also the assistance of a second man trained in making salt.[7] The undertaking could not have been placed on a permanent

[1] Rolfe's Relation, in Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 111.

[2] Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 180.

[3] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 65.

[4] Company's Letter, Sept. 11, 1621, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 249.

[5] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 68.

[6] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 567.

[7] Letter of Governor and Council to Company, January, 1621-22, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 283. Pirkett is sometimes referred to as Pickett, sometimes as Prickett.

footing, for, in 1627, William Capps was sent to the Colony to try an experiment in the manufacture of bay salt in addition to carrying out the other objects of his mission to Virginia. If he began the experiment at all, he was soon interrupted by a contention in which he became involved, and which ended in his expulsion from the country.

The General Court at Jamestown, in 1630, passed an order, in conformity probably with instructions from England, that the manufacture of salt should be begun again.[1] This seems to have been done, for the Governor and Council shortly afterwards informed the English authorities that the colonists, who in the production of this article had hitherto employed artificial heat in the process of evaporation, would soon be using the heat of the sun.[2] Harvey indulged in many hopeful expectations when writing upon the point at this time.[3] Thirty years after the close of his administration, the General Assembly rewarded Mr. Dawen, a citizen of Accomac, for the specimens of salt which he had produced by requiring the costs which he had incurred in visiting Jamestown, to be defrayed out of the general levy. He was also exempted from the levy of Accomac.[4] In 1660, the Assembly offered to grant ten thousand pounds of tobacco to Colonel Edmund Scarborough of Northampton if he should succeed in making eight hundred bushels.[5] In the following session, still more valuable encouragement was extended to him in consideration of his having erected works for that purpose. He was made the beneficiary of the whole amount of revenue collected in Northampton County in the settlement of the

[1] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. II, p. 215.

[2] *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, Appx., pp. 290, 291.

[3] Governor Harvey to Dorchester, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. V, No. 83; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1630*, p. 218, Va. State Library.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

duty of two shillings imposed upon every hogshead exported, subject, however, to the condition that he was to deliver to persons designated by the Assembly the salt which he manufactured, the exchange to be made at the rate of two shillings and six pence a bushel. No salt was to be imported into the county of Northampton after 1663, and if the master of a ship, bark, or any smaller craft disregarded this order, he was to suffer the confiscation of his vessel.[1] Anticipating that Colonel Scarborough might be unable to supply by his own manufacture the people of the Eastern Shore with the whole amount they required, the Assembly at a later date granted to him the exclusive privilege of importing this article into that Peninsula, and if the needs of the inhabitants in this respect were not met in spite of these additional facilities for obtaining salt, they were to be permitted to buy it of any one who possessed it, for their own use, but not for the purpose of selling it.[2] This monopoly having been found to be repugnant to the public health and convenience, it was withdrawn as far as it related to Northampton, and was not again renewed.[3] There is no evidence that salt was manufactured anywhere in Virginia in the seventeenth century except on the Eastern Shore, the waters of the inland bays and estuaries being less impregnated with brine than the waters of the open sea. The reference to the importation of the foreign article became more frequent towards the close of the century. This importation was never interrupted in the greater portion of the Colony, salt being brought in as a part of the annual supplies consigned to Virginia.[4]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 122.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 236. It is stated in a General Court entry for 1671 that Berkeley encouraged the making of salt in Virginia, presumably at this time. *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 258.

[4] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 405.

The need of some means of grinding grain was felt in the Colony as early as 1620, and in the summer of that year, to meet this want, a proposition was brought forward at a General Court of the Company to send over skilful wrights to construct water-mills. In 1621, Governor Yeardley built a windmill in Virginia, which was the first building of this character erected in North America.[1] In the same year, the Treasurer of the Colony was commanded to construct a water-mill. The numerous streams of Virginia rendered it easy to secure the necessary power for grinding, and after the first mill was erected, the number steadily increased with the growth of population. In 1634, a mill was erected at Kecoughtan by the millwrights whom Claiborne had introduced into the Colony.[2] In the following year, it is found that there was a structure of this kind standing on the plantation of William Brocas, situated not far from Jamestown.[3] Corn-mills were also owned in Virginia at this time by Hugh Bullock.[4] In 1645, there were a sufficient number in the Colony to require that legislative provisions should be adopted for their regulation. As, in consequence of the small trade or local monopolies, the charges of the owners had become excessive, the law stepped in to protect the planters in the matter of rates, declaring that the miller should take as his remuneration only one-sixth of the Indian corn brought him for grinding. Means, however, were found to evade this provision in the levying of toll, and it was consequently prescribed that all mill-owners

[1] Governor and Council of Virginia to the Company, January, 1621–22, Neill's *Virginia Company of London*, p. 283.

[2] Archives of Maryland, *Proceedings of Council*, 1667–1687, p. 236.

[3] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 117. See also *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 533.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1633–1694, p. 30, Va. State Library.

should keep scales and weights on hand for the ensurement of accurate measures.[1] In 1649, there were five water-mills in Virginia, four windmills, and a great number of horse, and hand mills.[2] Some years later, it became necessary to make the regulations adopted to secure accurate weights still more rigid, as there was a stronger disposition to disregard them. All grain received was to be carefully weighed, as well as all meal delivered. Stilyards or statute scales were to be used. A fine of one thousand pounds of tobacco was to be imposed in every instance in which there was an intentional failure to observe these requirements.[3] In 1667, the number of mills in the Colony was not sufficient to supply the needs of the population, and valuable inducements were offered to encourage their erection, these inducements being the same as those extended in the case of fulling mills at a later date, that is to say, if the person who wished to erect a mill was in possession of land lying only on one side of the stream upon which he proposed to build, he was granted the right to appropriate an acre on the other side, two commissioners being appointed by the court to appraise its value. The appropriation, however, was not permitted, and this, we have seen, was also the case in the instance of fulling mills, if it involved the destruction of houses, orchards, and other conveniences.[4]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 347.

[2] New Description of Virginia, p. 5, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II. See also *Records of York County*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 12, Va. State Library. Henry Spratt, in 1688, owned two hand-mills and one horse-mill. See *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 95. Among the entries in the inventory of Ralph Wormeley's estate were horse millstones. See *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1698–1713, p. 124.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 485.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 260.

From 1667 to the close of the century, there was a rapid increase in the number of mills. The references to them in the description of metes and bounds in patents become more and more frequent.[1] There are also many references to the transfers of this form of property.[2] The details of the expense of erecting a building of this character at this time have been transmitted to us in the recorded account of a mill belonging to Edward Chisman of York. The stones and iron were imported from England at a cost of thirty-seven pounds and thirteen shillings.[3] The remuneration of the millwright was ten thousand pounds of tobacco. The other items of expense were the labor of the sawyers in preparing the plank, of the smith in putting in the machinery, the wages of two persons in superintending the workingmen, the food and lodgings of the latter, the timber which entered into the construction of the building and the gates of the race, and finally the nails. The entire cost amounted to twenty-one thousand four hundred and five pounds of tobacco, equivalent in value to one hundred and seventy pounds sterling. It is interesting to note that the annual profits

[1] For an instance, see *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, p. 71, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 30, Va. State Library; *Ibid.*, vol. 1684–1687, p. 9, Va. State Library. In 1676, a half-interest in a mill situated in York County, the property of John Heyward and his wife, was sold for twenty pounds sterling, one thousand pounds of Indian corn, and five bushels of English wheat. The twenty pounds sterling were to be paid in goods; and as an additional consideration, the purchaser agreed to grind the grain of Heyward free of toll. *Ibid.*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 157, Va. State Library.

[3] The personal estate of Ralph Wormeley included a pair of French burr millstones. *Records of Middlesex*, original vol. 1694–1703, p. 126. A millstone owned by William Byrd, and used in his mill at Falling Creek, was valued at £40. See *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1699, orders, April 1, 1697.

of this mill were calculated at four thousand pounds of tobacco.[1]

In 1671, we discover the first indication of the existence of flour-mills in the Colony, from the legal provision of that year that the toll for grinding wheat should be one-eighth instead of one-sixth of the amount of grain brought to the mill, one-sixth, as has already been pointed out, being the proportion allowed in the case of maize.[2] Towards the end of the century there were a number of flour-mills in Virginia. Fitzhugh mentions incidentally in his correspondence in 1686 that there was a mill not far from his house which ground both wheat and maize, and it was here that he obtained his regular supply of meal and flour.[3] Colonel Byrd was the owner of two grist-mills managed by men whom he had obtained from England. In 1685, he informs an English correspondent that he expected in the course of another year to forward to England a sample of flour manufactured on his plantation, his bolting-mill at this time not being finished.[4] Much of the wheat shipped to the West Indies was first converted into flour.[5]

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 82, Va. State Library. Among the owners of mills were Daniel Parke and John Page of York County, George Newton of Lower Norfolk, Mathew Kemp of Middlesex, Robert Carter, David Fox, Joseph Ball, and Robert Beckingham of Lancaster, Richard Kennon, John Pleasants of Henrico, and Thomas Gunston of Rappahannock.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 286. There were flour-mills in the Colony at a date doubtless earlier than this. In 1661, there are references to flour in the inventories, but this had probably been sent to Virginia from England. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 380, Va. State Library.

[3] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, April 22, 1686.

[4] *Letters of William Byrd*, Feb. 10, 1685.

[5] *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1686. Thomas Cocke of Henrico County also owned a flour-mill. *Records*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 71. This mill was situated near Malvern Hill.

I have already adverted to the saw-mills in Virginia during the existence of the company. In 1630, land at Jamestown was granted to persons who undertook to erect mills of this kind, and that they were built is shown in the correspondence of Harvey at this time.[1] As late as 1649, however, it is stated that a mill to saw boards was very much needed in Virginia. Either the term "board" was not used to include the material of which the houses were usually constructed, or the demand for plank in the Colony was so great that the mills already in operation were unable to supply it.[2] After the middle of the century, the saw-mills became as numerous as the grist-mills. In some cases, they were propelled by horse power.[3] The steel saws were imported from England. Patterns were sent to the mother country to obtain saws of the exact size desired, and the same method was adopted as to the rest of the iron machinery.[4]

There are indications that a small quantity of plank, which had been sawed in the Colony, was occasionally exported to England. In 1695, Fitzhugh sent walnut plank to John Mason of Bristol, but was so much discouraged by the pecuniary outcome of the venture that he

[1] *Delaware MSS.*, *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, Appx., pp. 290, 291. A deed bearing the date of 1637 shows that Hugh Bullock owned at that time saw-mills in Virginia. See *Records of York County*, vol. 1633–1694, p. 30, Va. State Library. The first saw-mill erected in England was not built until 1655. This was due to the ignorance of the people, who thought that the trade of the sawyers would be ruined by such mills. Bishop's *History of American Manufactures*, vol. I, p. 93.

[2] New Description of Virginia, p. 5, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II. The reference to saw-mills in the *New Description of Virginia* led Mr. Bishop, in his *History of American Manufactures*, to suppose that no mill of this character had previous to 1649, been erected in Virginia; the records show that he was mistaken.

[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 467, Va. State Library.

[4] *Letters of William Byrd*, March 8, June 6, 1685; Feb. 2, 1684.

wrote that he was unwilling to repeat the experiment.[1] It seems that Fitzhugh was not the only planter who had made such a shipment; Captain Brent also had forwarded several cargoes of the same material for the use of Mr. Blaithwaite, having purchased it in Virginia at the rate of six pence a foot.[2]

Pipe-staves and clapboards were manufactured in Virginia from an early date. This was one of the employments in which the colonists were engaged during the presidency of Smith. Among the conditions inserted in every grant of land, as laid down by the Orders and Constitutions of 1619–20, was one that the patentee should, among other tasks imposed on him at the same time, fashion boards for house-building.[3] Williams calculated in 1650 that a man was able to make annually fifteen thousand pipe-staves and clapboards, which could be sold in the Canary Islands for twenty pounds sterling a thousand.[4] That this manufacture was carried on at the time in question, is proved by the statement of the author of the *New Description of Virginia*, who declared that the shipmasters, when they were unable to obtain a full lading, carried out pipe-staves, clapboard, walnut, and cedar timber.[5] The freight to Barbadoes on the first, towards the close of the century, was one-half of the charge imposed for their transportation to England. On one occasion, Fitzhugh was about to make a shipment of staves to Barbadoes, but on the captain's deciding to go to England, Fitzhugh sold them to him at the rate of

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, July 21, 1698.

[2] *Ibid.* Pine plank was valued in Lower Norfolk County in 1695 at five shillings a foot. See *Records*, original vol. 1695–1703, p. 2.

[3] Orders and Constitutions, 1619, p. 21, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[4] Virginia Richly Valued, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

[5] New Description of Virginia, p. 5, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. II.

fifty shillings a thousand, a hamper of canary being thrown in.[1] At a later date, Fitzhugh transported six thousand two hundred and forty articles of the same kind to Barbadoes.[2] At still another time, he proposed to send to his merchant in London ten thousand, and expressed himself as ready to dispatch, if a fair profit could be secured, as many as seventy thousand trunnels.[3] In 1690, John Waugh of York gave a note to William Sedgwick, promising to deliver on a designated day, fourteen thousand pipe-staves, which were now valued at two pounds and ten shillings a thousand. Notes of this character were not uncommon, and they were frequently causes of suit.[4]

Pitch and tar were produced in Virginia in small quantities during the administration of the Company, several Poles having been sent out to the Colony for that purpose. It was proposed that a number of apprentices should be set to learn the art of this manufacture under the foreigners.[5] There is no evidence that these articles were made on a scale of importance in the subsequent history of the Colony, although England was compelled throughout this period to import large quantities from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.[6] In 1698, the only place where pitch and tar were produced in Virginia in a considerable quantity was in Elizabeth City County. The amount did not exceed twelve hundred barrels

[1] *Letters of William Fitzhugh*, May 22, 1683.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, June 5, 1682.

[4] *Records of York County*, vol. 1687–1691, p. 448, Va. State Library; *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol., orders Sept. 19, 1694. Boards and staves were sometimes the consideration in the purchase of land. See *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 103.

[5] *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. I, p. 17.

[6] Anderson's *History of Commerce*, vol. III, p. 2.

annually, knots of old pine trees being the material used.[1] Barrels of tar were from an early period very frequently included in the inventories of estates in Lower Norfolk County, and the entries of this form of property increased in a very notable degree in the last five years of the century. This commodity became an important consideration in the transfer of titles to land; in some instances, it was offered in part payment and in others in whole.[2] There were also fitful attempts to manufacture potashes. In several cases, samples were shipped to England, but at no time did the production of this commodity develop into an important industry.[3] It sold for about 7*s.* 6*d.* a barrel.[4]

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, Virginia B. T., vol. II, B. 17. "In obedience to his excellency's the Governor's letter, this court having taken the same into consideration, doe returne for answer that there never was any quantitys of pitch and tar made in this county nor is there any quantity of pine to make the same." *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1694–1705, p. 222.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 83; *Ibid*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 103.

[3] Governor Harvey to Privy Council, October, 1630, *British State Papers, Colonial*, No. 5; *McDonald Papers*, vol. II, p. 45, Va. State Library.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, p. 2.

CHAPTER XIX

MONEY

THE history of Virginia in the seventeenth century furnishes perhaps the most interesting instance in modern times of a country established upon the footing of an organized and civilized community, with an ever-growing number of inhabitants and an ever-enlarging volume of trade, yet compelled to have recourse to a method of exchange which seems especially characteristic of peoples still lingering in the barbarous or semi-barbarous state. From 1607 to 1700, the period upon which I am dwelling, a period covering an interval of ninety-three years, in the course of which the small band of colonists who disembarked at Jamestown in the spring of 1607 increased from a few hundred persons to many thousands, a period in which the unbroken forest east of the falls in the rivers flowing into the Chesapeake Bay was in large part cut down and the soil dug up and planted in tobacco, wheat, and maize, the financial system of Virginia was in principal measure based upon exchange in its crudest and simplest form. An agricultural product was given for a manufactured, or a manufactured product for an agricultural. Coin, which is just as much of a commodity as an agricultural or manufactured article, circulated in Virginia only in small quantities, even after nine decades had passed since the foundation of the Colony. Tobacco was the standard of value at the very

time that the whole community was engaged in planting it. It was the money in which all the supplies, both domestic and imported, were purchased; in which the tax imposed by the public levy was settled; in which the tithables of the minister, the fees of the attorney and the physician, the debts due the merchant, the remuneration of the free mechanic, the wages of the servant, the charges of the midwife and the grave-digger were paid. In no similar instance has an agricultural product entered so deeply and so extensively into the spirit and framework of any modern community. It was to the Colony what the potato has been to Ireland, the coffee-berry to Brazil, the grape to France, and corn to Egypt; and it was also something more. It was, as it were, at once an agricultural and a metallic commodity, which, owing to the perverse taste of mankind, was as valuable in itself as the potato, the coffee-berry, the grape, the grain of wheat, and at the same moment as precious as gold or silver and more precious than iron. It was as if men had substituted the barns in their yards for purses in their pockets. The universal use into which tobacco came as currency, arose, not from the preference of the settlers, but by the force of circumstances which they could not have controlled even if they had wished to. In the beginning, there was no need for a medium of exchange. It was the exchange only which was wanted. Virginia raised tobacco to barter for English clothing, tools, utensils, and implements that were indispensable to the people, and which they themselves could not at that early period manufacture. The Magazine established in 1616, the contents of which were delivered by the Cape Merchant to the planters in return for tobacco, could only have maintained its existence in a country in which the original principle of trade was operating

on account of the poverty of that country or its infancy as an organized community. The buyer and seller simply exchanged articles. The buyer was a seller and the seller a buyer at the same moment. There was no occasion for the passage of a single coin from one to the other. As the population enlarged, and the volume of exported tobacco and imported merchandise increased, the demand for coin in the transfer of the great agricultural product of Virginia for the manufactured goods of England remained in proportion to the extent of the transaction almost as small. The principle governing it continued to be in its essence the same. The Virginians still desired to procure English commodities, the English merchants were still anxious to obtain the staple of the Colony. It was not necessary for the Virginian landowner to transport his crops to the West Indies to secure articles to be disposed of in England for coin to be used in the purchase of English goods, as was the case with the farmer of New England in selling his grain and other provisions. The Magazine set up at Jamestown during the administration of the Company was in later periods practically established upon each estate by an English or native merchant when he exchanged his imported goods for the planter's tobacco, still without the intervention of a single coin. The inconveniences of such a system were felt not in the operation of external trade, that is to say, in the barter of Virginian for English products or the reverse, but in the working of internal affairs, in the transactions of local business, for instance, in the sale of the commodity of labor and professional knowledge and the like.

The peculiar character of the commercial relations existing in the seventeenth century between Virginia and England was precisely what had been desired as well as

anticipated by English statesmen and merchants at the time of the foundation of the Colony. It was approved by the public men of England throughout the century not only because it increased the volume of English manufactures, but also because it created no balance of trade against the English people, involving, as in the case of their dealings with the countries of Continental Europe, a withdrawal of large quantities of coin each year from the kingdom to cover this balance. It was approved by the merchants during the same period because it gave them an opportunity to secure a double profit, first, a profit on the goods which they imported into Virginia, and secondly, a profit on the tobacco which they exported from the Colony. Had they been compelled to pay in coin for every pound of that commodity purchased from the planters, they would not only have secured no gain on the outward voyage, since in that instance they would have carried over no cargo, but they would have lost irretrievably the large amount expended in meeting the cost of navigating their ships in passing from England to Virginia.

In one of the petitions drawn up by the first Assembly which convened in the Colony, it is stated that there was at this time "no money at all" in Virginia. The true explanation of this condition was recognized by the Burgesses when they declared that they had no mint, the only means in the circumstances of trade existing then by which coin could have been obtained. Under the provisions of the charter of 1606, the right to make money of metal was granted to the Company, but this privilege was not renewed in the second charter. It does not appear to have been exercised in the brief interval to which it was confined. The Assembly of 1619 was very earnest in urging that the Treasurer who was to be appointed to

collect the quit-rents, which ought properly to have been paid in coin, should accept tobacco in its stead, in order to avoid the deadlock which would result from demanding rents in the metals, at a time when the latter were not to be found in the Colony.[1]

When Sir George Yeardley in 1628 came to draw up his will, he inserted among its provisions, strict directions that the portion of his estate in Virginia, including lands, cattle, and servants, should be sold for tobacco, and that this should be transported to England and there disposed of at the highest price. These instructions show how impossible it was, a generation after the foundation of the Colony, to convert an estate into coin or even bills of exchange for transmission to the mother country, although this method, of course, would have been far preferable to one which involved the shipment of an agricultural product with the heavy freight charges attendant.[2] For a number of years previous to 1632, it seems to have been the habit to value all articles in tobacco, an indication not only of the supreme importance of the commodity in the financial system of the Colony, but also of the comparative stability of its price in the market. As soon as this price began to fluctuate with more or less suddenness, it became highly advisable to use the figures of English currency in all ordinary appraisements; it is not, therefore, surprising to find that in 1632 an Act of Assembly was passed requiring that in calculating the amount of estates of deceased persons, coin alone should be used as the expression of value.[3] It is probable that this regulation

[1] Lawes of Assembly, 1619, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, 1874, p. 16.

[2] Will of Sir George Yeardley, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1884, p. 69. See General Court Orders, Feb. 4, 1627, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 71.

[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 170.

had been adopted in relation to salaries some years before. A decline in the price of tobacco would have inflicted special loss on the class of office-holders if the rule had been different. No class in the Colony were more careful in maintaining every condition that was favorable to their welfare. Although their salaries were rated in 1688 in English currency, it is known that they contented themselves with receiving tobacco instead of money sterling, either because there was no coin in Virginia or because this course was more in accord with their interests.[1]

At this time, a certain amount of money sterling was introduced by means of masters of ships, who, in some cases, paid in this form the tax of two pence, imposed for the benefit of the Register upon every hogshead exported from Virginia.[2] So small, however, was the volume of the metals in circulation in 1636, that Governor Harvey, in a letter to Secretary Windebank, stated that there was in the country "little or no money" sterling, and so much inconvenience and damage did this fact occasion, that he was prompted to beg that a large quantity of farthings should be dispatched to the Colony to facilitate transactions in local business.[3] Among the persons to whom a patent had been granted by the King to make and to place in general use in England coin equal in value to a farthing was Lord Maltravers, and upon him was conferred the right of supplying the people in Virginia with the same coins in exchange for such commodities as were readily salable in the English markets.[4] Their face value was

[1] Governor Harvey and Council to Privy Council, Jan. 18, 1639, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638-1639*, p. 52, Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 17; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1636*, p. 161, Va. State Library.

[4] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 96, I.

higher than the intrinsic value of the copper entering into their composition. This fact was well known to the inhabitants of the Colony. As soon as the royal intention of exporting these coins to Virginia was announced, the House of Burgesses called the attention of the Governor and Council to the deficiency; they declared that mechanics would be unwilling to receive such money in remuneration for their labor, hired servants for their wages, and merchants for their debts. The Burgesses suggested that a petition should be presented to the King, begging him to import into Virginia five thousand pounds sterling annually to meet the constant need of coin, and that this money should be in the form of silver, with an allowance of ten per cent to such merchants as should bind themselves to satisfy the exchanges.[1] A few years before, it had been calculated that the Colony would require annually as much as twenty thousand pounds sterling, but in this estimate, there were included not only the salaries of the public officers, but also the expenses to be incurred in destroying the forest, in stocking the new plantations with cattle, in raising fortifications at the mouths of the large rivers, in maintaining an army which should be kept in active service, and in extending the exploration of Virginia both by land and sea.[2]

No fact illustrates in a more impressive manner, the absolute dearth at this time of the metals in the Colony than the Act of Assembly passed in January, 1641, which provided that no debts contracted in Virginia to be settled in money sterling should be pleadable in a court of law.

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 96, II; *Winder Papers*, vol. I, p. 111, Va. State Library.

[2] Governor and Council to Privy Council, May 17, 1626, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IV, No. 10; *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 303, Va. State Library

The only exception allowed by this regulation was when the debt to be paid in coin had been incurred in the purchase of horses, mares, and sheep.[1] Only three years subsequent to the passage of this Act, the General Assembly, in the preamble of a new law bearing upon the problem of introducing money sterling, referred to the great wants and miseries which arose day after day from the general use of tobacco as currency. In their anxiety to promote the influx of Spanish money, which appears at this time to have been flowing in in small quantities, probably from the Spanish and English islands in the West Indies, they determined to establish an arbitrary rate at which it was to be received in payment of all forms of indebtedness; the result of their deliberations was that the piece of eight should pass as equal in value to six shillings, and all other coins of the same origin be estimated in proportion. In the event that Spanish money sterling could be drawn into Virginia, the General Assembly were apprehensive lest it might soon be drained away, and to provide against this possibility, they resolved to import ten thousand pounds avoirdupois of copper, to be purchased at eighteen pence a pound, and to be paid for in tobacco. To secure such a large quantity of the latter commodity, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight, a levy of twenty-four pounds a head was to be laid on the inhabitants of the Colony. It was decided that twenty shillings should be manufactured from each pound of copper, making, after a liberal deduction for the costs of mintage, a difference between the intrinsic value of the bullion and the face value of the coin amounting to eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling, an enormous sum in that age. This copper was to be moulded into two, three, six, and nine penny pieces. Two rings were to be im-

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, pp, 267, 268.

pressed on each coin, in one of which a motto was to be inscribed and to remain permanently. There was to be annually stamped on the other a new figure, and an officer to perform this duty was to be appointed in each county. Captain John Upton was named as the general master of the mint. The Assembly, in order to give this money a steady value, declared that if at any time it was called in, and in consequence ceased to have currency, the public treasury would pay to the holders, to each one in proportion to the amount in his possession, the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, as represented in tobacco, this large quantity of the commodity in question to be obtained by a general levy. Death was to be the penalty for counterfeiting this copper coin.[1]

It is interesting to note the arbitrary means employed by the General Assembly not only to give a fixed value to the piece of eight, but also to compel the inhabitants of the Colony to accept this form of money at the rate prescribed. This, it is almost unnecessary to say, has been the logical consequence in all ages of all attempts to govern the value of money by an act of legislation, instead of leaving that value to be controlled by the preciousness of the metal as governed by the price in the market. As has been seen, the Assembly proclaimed that the piece of eight should pass current as equal in value to six shillings. This was in 1645. It is evident that in the opinion of the people the piece of eight was not intrinsically worth so many shillings, and they, therefore, declined to use this coin in exchange at this rate although fixed by law. The Assembly, in consequence, decided in 1655 to lower the legal value to five shillings, proclaiming that all who refused to accept a piece of eight as thus valued were to be summoned before the court of the county in which

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 308.

they resided to answer for their disregard of the provisions of the statute.[1] This Act failed to accomplish the purpose which it had in view. It was announced that it had been passed in the interest of mechanics especially, and yet the mechanics, as soon as they had had some experience of its practical operation, appear to have been the first to protest against it, on the ground that, after laboring for a subsistence, "they had only so many counters instead of sterling money for the sweat of their brows." It is obvious that advantage was taken of the regulation, to pass, not only upon members of that class but also upon others, a quantity of spurious coin.[2]

All debts which by the terms of the contract were to be paid in money sterling could now be enforced in court, provided that these debts had not been incurred in the interval between 1643 and 1649. In that case they were held to be unpleadable.[3]

The continued anxiety of the Assembly to promote an influx of money sterling is shown in the acknowledgment introduced into the preamble of the celebrated regulation imposing a tax of two shillings upon every hogshead exported from Virginia. It is there stated that one motive for the adoption of the regulation was that it would perhaps be conducive to the increase of the volume of coin in the Colony, an anticipation based upon the fact that when the duty of one penny for the benefit of the Register was placed on each cask, a regulation which was in operation only during a brief period, the shipmasters in many cases

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 410.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 397. In consequence of this fact, it was provided in 1655–56 that only the silver piece of eight should pass as five shillings. See *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 417. It would appear that "all money debts which are or shall be made in England for goods imported into this colony," that is, Virginia, were also included in the scope of the exception. *Ibid.*, p. 417.

had preferred to pay this duty in money sterling to subserve their own convenience.[1] The author of *Public Good without Private Interest*, writing during the time of the Protectorate, complained of the serious obstruction caused in the transaction of all business by the bulkiness of tobacco, the only money then in general use in Virginia, and he urged the expediency of sending over a supply of coin to be made current there.[2]

The prevailing notion in the seventeenth century that legislation was able to create any condition in the public wealth which lawgivers thought proper to bring about, again led the General Assembly in 1658 to play a trick of jugglery with the piece of eight. It was formerly provided that not only should this coin pass as equal in value to five shillings, but also that no person could refuse to receive it at that figure without rendering himself liable to a penalty. It was soon found, as we have seen, that this gave an opportunity to pass metal of inferior quality, and the law was repealed. In 1658, the original statute was reënacted, but with the clause that a refusal of sound silver pieces of eight alone should be punished by a fine of twenty shillings.[3] It would be inferred from this that in the popular opinion a piece of eight, although made of silver and of unquestionable soundness, was not equal in value even to five shillings; there would otherwise have been no necessity for adopting a rule to compel the colonists to take it at that rate, unless the object of the law was really to protect the planters against the extortions of the merchants and shipmasters, a supposition which appears improbable, as tobacco was in universal use when goods had to be bought of the importers, who were as anxious to

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 491.
[2] *Public Good without Private Interest*, p. 21.
[3] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 493.

secure that commodity as they were to sell their merchandise. This view seems to be sustained by the fact that in the same statute it was provided that no money sterling in excess of forty shillings should be exported from Virginia, under a penalty for a violation of the regulation in double that amount.[1]

That the right to sue for debts contracted in money sterling remained unimpaired after the middle of the century is revealed in the conclusion reached by the county court of York in 1669, in the suit of Captain Samuel Cooper, as attorney of Edward Smith, against John Page and others in their character of executors. The sum in dispute was twenty-six pounds, twelve shillings and six pence. They were ordered to deliver this amount in coin. It is safe to say that this decision would not have been arrived at if the court had thought that it would impose a special hardship to require the defendants to pay in money sterling, and we may accept the fact as an indication that English currency was now somewhat more abundant in Virginia than twenty years earlier.[2] When Colonel Norwood, who had been spending several months at Green Spring, left Jamestown to go to Holland with the view of securing from Charles the Second the position of Treasurer of the Colony, it is stated that he was furnished with a sum of money by Governor Berkeley.[3] Whatever coin

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 493.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 378, Va. State Library. "Hipwell Hilton sueing Mr. Thomas Wythe Sr. deft. for £11 16*s*. sterling for % of worke done for ye deft, who also produces an % for ye same worke rated in tobacco, and saythe that tobacco is only due according to agreement, it is ordered that in case ye plt. cannot prove his agreement with ye deft. for money due for ye said worke, that then the deft. be allowed to make oath to his % the same as due in tobacco." *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 7, Va. State Library.

[3] Norwood's Voyage to Virginia, p. 50, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

was to be found in Virginia at this time was most probably in possession of men who held official positions, positions which gave them an opportunity of acquiring whatever money sterling had been paid by the merchants and ship-masters. It is remarkable how small is the amount of coin appearing among the items of inventories even as late as 1670. Even where an estate was equal in value to several thousand dollars, it is exceptional if we find a few shillings. Among the few instances preserved in the records of the county courts were those of Robert Glascock of Lower Norfolk, whose inventory included two pounds and a half in coin;[1] Mrs. Elizabeth Bushrod of York, who left at her death seven pounds sterling in the same form,[2] and John Nilkson of the same county, who left only two pounds.[3] Francis Wheeler, whose personal property when he died was valued at £1123, bequeathed in coin only four pounds and a few shillings.[4] By 1670, it had become extremely common to draw specialties in money sterling, but it is doubtful whether on maturing they were paid in this medium, the wording being only a precaution against the fluctuations in the value of tobacco.

Again, in 1680, the General Assembly were careful to prescribe the legal rates of the money sterling in circulation in Virginia. The French coin was estimated at six dollars; the piece of eight at six shillings, an advance of one shilling on its value as legal tender previous to the middle of the century; half-pieces of eight at three shillings, and one-quarter pieces at eighteen pence. The New England coin was to be held at one shilling. As no reference is made in this table to Virginian coins, it is to

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1646–1651, f. p. 46.
[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1675–1684, p. 338, Va. State Library.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 16.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 197.

be presumed that the provisions of the law of 1644 for striking off a local metallic currency[1] had not been carried into effect.[2] We find at this time that the General Assembly petitioned the King for permission to enhance the value of all the coins imported into the Colony to an extent represented by one-fourth of their face value; in other words, that body desired to obtain authority to rate a coin equal, let us say, to one dollar in our modern currency, at one dollar and a quarter, and having by the mere stroke of the pen given this arbitrary value, to compel all persons to whom it was offered, to receive it under threat of severe punishment.[3]

Two years later, Lord Culpeper, for his own private profit, began to claim the right as the representative of the King to fix the value of money sterling by proclamation. He was accused of having obtained a great quantity of pieces of eight at a low figure and of then compelling the soldiers who still remained in the Colony after the suppression of Bacon's Insurrection, to receive their wages in this coin, which he had raised to the value of six shillings apiece. The prescription worked both ways. Culpeper finding that he was losing heavily, inasmuch as his perquisites were settled in money sterling at this rate, issued a second proclamation restoring the former standard of five shillings.[4]

How small was the quantity of money sterling in the Colony as late as 1685 is shown in the memorable reply of the Burgesses in that year when called upon by Howard, who was acting under instructions from England, to

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 308.

[2] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 398.

[3] Council and Burgesses to the King, *British State Papers, Colonial*, July 26, 1681; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1681*, p. 106, Va. State Library.

[4] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 74.

pay their quit-rents in coin instead of in tobacco, according to the rule which had prevailed for so great a length of time. They boldly declared that it was impossible to obey such an order. Not only was money sterling entirely lacking, but it could not be procured from England, the laws of that kingdom prohibiting its exportation.[1] The people of Virginia, although they had been enduring the evil condition springing from a dearth of coin for so long a period, seemed unable to accustom themselves to the inconveniences it caused in such a variety of ways. In 1686, the Governor and Council drew up a petition to the King, in which he was asked with great earnestness to grant the authorities of the Colony the right to advance pieces of eight, French crowns, and other foreign money beyond their intrinsic worth. It was anticipated that the merchants engaged in the tobacco trade would be tempted by this increase in rating to import large quantities of coin in order to secure the margin of profit which would thus be created between the arbitrary and the real value of the metal.

The proposition of the Council was submitted to the Commissioners of Customs in England for an opinion as to the expediency of accepting it. Their reply was in many respects a memorable one, and deserves perhaps to be pondered even in the present age. They took the ground that "no rate ought to be set upon money sterling other than according to its real intrinsic value and worth;" and they further declared, "that the proposition, if carried out, would be a great hindrance to trade, and instead of a general advantage, conduce only to the advantage of some particular persons, who, being in debt,

[1] Address of Burgesses to Howard, October, 1685, *British State Papers, Colonial; McDonald Papers*, vol. VII, p. 340, Va. State Library.

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was extremely small, which would seem to indicate that the pieces of eight, the Peruvian pieces, and the crowns had been imported almost wholly from the West Indies. Even these coins did not remain very long in the Colony, if the testimony of the authors of the *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, can be accepted. Pennsylvania had adopted an order that pieces of eight of twelve pennyweight should pass current as equal to five shillings, and in the same proportion, pieces of eight of an increased weight. As the most valuable piece of eight was ascertained in Virginia at five shillings, and in Maryland at four shillings and six pence, there was created a tendency in this coin to flow from the two Colonies just mentioned to Pennsylvania, where it could be disposed of as an ordinary commodity at a profit, in one instance of a shilling and in another of a shilling and a half.[1]

The lack of coin in Virginia at this time was by some attributed to the action of the Governor, who found it to his interest, it was said, to encourage the use of tobacco as money because it enabled him to receive his salary in the form of bills of exchange which could be transmitted to England with more facility and safety than the metals. He objected quite naturally to the payment of what was due him in pieces of eight, at the wholly arbitrary valuation of five shillings. As soon as he forwarded them to England, these coins would have been credited to him at their true worth, to his very serious damage. The Governor was probably in large part paid in tobacco received for quit-rents, this being delivered to him at a more reasonable rate than he could have secured it in the open market. He was also a purchaser of the same commodity procured from the same source on terms equally to his

[1] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 14. See, also, Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 53.

advantage. For one hundred pounds of it, for instance, he was required to pay only four shillings and six pence; he could not only dispose of it at a handsome profit, but, obtained at so low a price, he was enabled to buy all of his supplies practically at half rates. The example set by the Governor in discouraging the use of money sterling was followed by the Auditor-General in receiving from the collectors the amount which they were called upon to turn over to him, and by the collectors in receiving the duties which were paid by the merchants on tobacco exported by them and on certain articles which they imported. The authors of the *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, declare that the influence of the example of these officials extended to the people in their mutual transactions in business, but this statement is open to serious doubt, since to follow their example did not coincide with the popular interests. The expressed sentiment of the colonists is, moreover, in conflict with it.[1]

In a series of proposals drawn in the autumn of 1697 for submission to the House of Burgesses by leading citizens of Accomac, it was asserted emphatically that money sterling was the most convenient agency in carrying on trade and commerce, and that its absence discouraged men in every walk of life because it compelled them to wait or sell upon credit, which frequently terminated in a total loss. For this reason, it was stated to be of the highest importance that all coins should bear a fixed value. The petitioners, therefore, urged upon the attention of the Burgesses the necessity of laying down the rates at which all money sterling except that of English mintage should pass as current in Virginia. Unless steps were taken to put this suggestion into practical operation, the small amount in circulation in the Colony, the petitioners pre-

[1] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 13.

dicted, would be drawn away to the provinces where the coins had an ascertained value.[1] The suggestion seems to have been adopted either immediately or at a later date, for when Beverley wrote his *History*, the value of all money sterling in use in Virginia had been fixed by law. Besides coins of English origin, there were coins which had come from the mints of Arabia, France, Portugal, Spain, and Spanish America. Both gold and silver were represented. The silver coin bearing the stamp of France, Spain, or Portugal was appraised at three pence and three farthings a pennyweight. The gold coin of these countries and also of Arabia was valued at five shillings a pennyweight. The English guinea passed current at twenty-six shillings and English silver at an advance of two pence in every shilling. Old English coin was rated in proportion to its weight.[2]

It is significant to find that among the different kinds of money sterling in circulation in the counties on the Eastern Shore was the lion or dog dollar, as it was called, from the device on its face. This was perhaps a Dutch coin which had obtained a furtive admission into the Colony by the smuggling traffic, which, in spite of the Navigation laws, was carried on between the people of those countries and the merchants of Holland. Its presence in Virginia as late as 1696 was the strongest evidence of the continuation of this illicit commerce. In the course of that year, a petition was presented by the planters of Accomac to their representatives in the House of Burgesses, to be delivered to that body when it assembled, asking that a legal value be set upon the lion or dog dollar, in order that it might be used to advantage in current business transactions.[3]

[1] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 53.

[2] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 230.

[3] Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. I, p. 52. In *Records*

The instances in which coin formed a part of a testator's estate were more frequent in the last decade of the century than they had been previously. Mrs. Katherine Thorp of York, who died in the course of this period, left six pounds sterling in gold and thirteen pounds in silver.[1] The estate of Nathaniel Branker of Lower Norfolk included four pounds sterling in silver and one pound in gold.[2] It is stated in the inventory of William Porteus of Lower Norfolk that he had among his effects nineteen pounds sterling, a large sum when it is remembered that his personal estate did not exceed six hundred and sixty-six pounds;[3] the only instance comparable with this was that of William Knibbe of Henrico, who had collected enough coin to fill one-half of a small cabinet, his object, however, being to meet the cost of a trip to England.[4] Robert Lightenhouse of York, whose personalty was appraised at seventy-two pounds sterling, bequeathed fourteen pounds in metallic money.[5]

A large quantity of the money sterling that was now left at the deaths of planters was of foreign origin. Thus in the personalty of William Knott of Lower Norfolk there were fourteen pounds sterling in Spanish money and three Arabian gold pieces.[6] John Morrah bequeathed eleven shillings in English money, two shillings in New

of Lower Norfolk County, original vol. 1695–1703, p. 151, there is this reference to bits: "Watching on board the sloop *Content* from Oct. 19, 1697, to Nov. 12, 1697, is twenty two days and nights at 3 bitts per day, and 3 bitts per night comes to 4£ 2^{sh} 6^{d}."

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1697, p. 193, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 17.

[3] *Ibid.*, original vol. 1695–1703, p. 36.

[4] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1677–1692, p. 101, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of York County*, vol. 1694–1702, p. 387, Va. State Library.

[6] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 95.

England, and five pieces of eight;[1] Thomas Teackle of Accomac, four pounds sterling in Spanish coin;[2] Thomas Tomson of Lancaster, five pounds;[3] and Jacob Walker of Elizabeth City, twenty-one.[4] The inventory of Peter Cartwright included twenty-three pounds sterling in Spanish coin, an Arabian gold piece, and half a gold pistole. Among the effects of William Chichester of the same county were eight pounds sterling and four lion dollars.[5]

The increase in the volume of coin in circulation by the end of the century is shown in the vast number of specialties which at this time were made payable in money sterling, a precaution which meant, in many cases, that only the amount of tobacco representing the figures named should be delivered, but more frequently that the specialties were to be carried out as they stood, the person under bond being required to meet his obligation in specie. The only preference allowed him was the alternative of settling in English or Spanish money.[6] It was directed

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 16, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1692–1715, p. 140.

[3] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1690–1709, p. 59.

[4] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 489, Va. State Library.

[5] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 106; *Ibid.*, Chichester, p. 150. Fitzhugh, writing to Colonel Brent under date of Feb. 25, 1687, said, "I send you by this messenger one guinea and twelve pieces of eight." *Letters of William Fitzhugh.* Fitzhugh speaks of this as being his entire stock of ready money except one piece of eight.

[6] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 100, Va. State Library. The debt was sometimes required to be paid in New England coin, as the following instance preserved in *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1673–1685, p. 135, shows: "Judgment granted to John Pickworth, Benj. Pickworth and Richard Hudson against Mrs. Margaret Bridge, administratrix of Mr. Francis Bridge, for ye sum of 43£ 16^{sh} New England money, together with interest for said money according to ye obligation."

that personal estates should be sold for tobacco or coin as convenience should dictate to the executor.[1] Contracts for work to be paid for in money sterling alone were now drawn and strictly enforced by courts of law when appeal was made to them.[2] Coin was also the consideration in the sales of land.[3]

No financial device played a more important rôle in the internal and external trade of the Colony than the bill of exchange. This instrument was only used when the party who gave it had a balance to his credit in the hands of some merchant, the drawee being generally a person of this calling who resided in England, New England, Barbadoes, or in one of the other English Colonies. Illustrations of the ordinary circumstances under which bills of exchange were passed may be offered. A foreign or native trader who was engaged in buying and selling Virginian tobacco purchased a large quantity of this commodity; instead of making payment in some form of merchandise or in money sterling, he delivered a bill of exchange drawn on a merchant who lived in England or in one of the Colonies, as the case might be. This manner of settling indebtedness was peculiarly agreeable to the planters who had direct dealings with these outside countries, as it placed a large sum to their credit in the very place where they were in the habit of buying goods. The person receiving the bill transmitted it to his own correspondent in England, New England, or Barbadoes, with instructions to collect it and devote the sum of money sterling thus

[1] *Records of York County*, orders for Oct. 2, 1692, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 8, Va. State Library.

[3] It is worthy of note, however, that when land at this time was sold for tobacco, the expression "sum of so many pounds of tobacco" was generally used. See *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1671–1676, p. 338; vol. 1663–1668, p. 35.

obtained to the purchase of such commodities as he might designate, or he directed that his correspondent should hold it subject to future orders. The correspondent thus became his banker. It was also common for a planter, in forwarding his hogsheads of tobacco, to accompany them with bills equal in value to his interest in the cargo, drawn on the consignee, who was ordered to return in the form of goods the sum represented. If the price of the articles as a whole exceeded the aggregate amount of the bills, an abatement was made in the order, or the deficiency was covered by a second shipment of tobacco. The planter would not infrequently draw a bill of exchange on the merchant in England in whose hands a balance remained to his credit, for the purpose of settling a difference in his account with a second English merchant. It happened very often that the Virginian, instead of sending wheat or tobacco to the Northern Provinces, forwarded to a correspondent residing there, bills of exchange made payable in England or the West Indies, these bills having been delivered to him by merchants or planters in the Colony with whom he had had business transactions, or having been drawn by himself; they were honored by their exchange for what he needed, the correspondent relying upon their soundness when presented to the persons named as drawees. This was an ordinary illustration of the part which a bill of exchange played in the economic life of Virginia. It may have passed through a dozen hands in the Colony, like a piece of coin, before coming into the possession of the last holder. It then made the long voyage to New England. There it may have gone through many additional hands in succession before it was transmitted to England or the West Indies for acceptance by the merchant who was the drawee from the beginning.

The bill of exchange was drawn in general in the form of three duplicates, one of which, the first, second, or third, apparently without discrimination, was very often entered on record in the county in which the bill itself was given. It was to be met twenty, thirty, or forty days or even longer after presentation to the drawee. It could be transferred, being made payable to order.[1] As the risk of protest was always present, it is not surprising to find that precautions were taken to ensure the payment of the amounts represented in bills of exchange by requiring the delivery of collateral security. The local government, when it first imposed a duty of two shillings on each hogshead exported, was careful to provide that if paid for in bills of exchange, these bills should be fully protected. In private transactions, the security most frequently consisted of a bond in which the person delivering the bill bound himself to pay double the amount set down in it in the event that the document was protested. In some cases, the security was a recorded assignment of the servants, slaves, cattle, and tobacco in the possession of the drawer, and this was to be made final if the bill was dishonored.[2]

There is much evidence to show that the bills of exchange were in many instances protested. The cargo on which they were based sometimes miscarried or after its arrival in England remained unsalable, or perhaps the consignee proved bankrupt or was unscrupulous in his business life. The return of such documents occasioned such serious damage even in some cases in which they had been

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1671–1694, p. 152, Va. State Library; *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, pp. 291, 337, Va. State Library. In one case, sixteen separate bills of exchange were recorded together in *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1666–1682, pp. 147. This was in 1671.

[2] An instance of security in the form of a bond will be found in *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1668–1672, p. 54.

secured by the conditional assignment of property in the Colony to the persons in whose favor they were drawn, that the General Assembly determined to impose a heavy penalty upon the drawer of a bill, although he might be able to show that the default of the drawee in England or whatever country the latter might reside in was altogether unjustified. He was required to pay the creditor not only the amount of the protested bill, but also thirty per cent in excess of it. He was, however, allowed, whenever the drawee had ample funds in his hands to meet the call upon him, to secure from any property in Virginia belonging to the drawee the amount which he, the drawer, had been compelled to pay both in principal and damages to the creditor.[1] It was found that the interests of the Colony suffered from the high percentage at which the losses resulting from protested bills were rated, and the proportion once recoverable on this account was lowered to fifteen per cent. This penalty was strictly enforced and no alteration was suffered to be made in it by private agreement, even for the advantage of the creditor. In 1670, John Hungerford of York delivered to Mrs. Elizabeth Napier bills of exchange amounting to nine pounds sterling which he had drawn on an English merchant and bound himself in damages to the extent of thirty per cent in case they were returned rejected. Under the law, his responsibility was restricted to fifteen per cent;[2] the court, therefore, decided that Hungerford was only answerable in this degree when the bills were sent back dishonored. He had, however, to pay the charges of protest and the costs of the suit.[3]

If the drawer of the protested bill was not to be found when he was sought in order to enforce his liability for its

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 171. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[3] *Records of York County*, vol. 1664–1672, p. 456, Va. State Library.

amount and the damages, process of attachment was issued against his estate in case he owned any property in the Colony.[1] In order to avoid the possibility of a bill which had been paid being presented for payment the second time, when the receipt perhaps had been lost, or the original parties to the document or the witness of the transaction which it represented had died, it was provided that suit upon such a bill must be brought before three years had expired since its passage, unless it had been renewed within that interval, or had been placed on record in the books of the General Court at Jamestown or in the county in which the debtor had resided or still lived.[2] At a session of the General Assembly held several years later, it was enacted that the right of suit on a bill should not extend beyond five years beyond its date unless the debtor had left Virginia, thus rendering it impossible to renew the document. The validity of a judgment obtained upon a protested note was not to last longer than five years, unless the debtor by departing from the Colony had put it out of the power of the holder of the bill to enforce it against him.[3]

The only forms of money which it still remains to touch upon are roanoke and wampumpeke. These had a legal circulation in the Colony, having come down from the aborigines.[4] The references to roanoke are most frequent in the records of such outlying counties as Accomac and Rappahannock. It seems to have been measured by an arm's length, and was not infrequently paid out to the Indians along with match-coats for services performed by them for the public good.[5] It was occasionally found

[1] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 1, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 390. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 484. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 397.

[5] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1663–1666, p. 94; see also *Records of General Court*, p. 169.

constituting a part of an estate.[1] The references to wampumpeke are comparatively few.[2] The use of beaver as a currency appears to have been most common on the Eastern Shore, where eight pounds in 1637 was valued at one hundred and sixty pounds of tobacco. It was also the subject of specialty.[3]

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1677–1682, p. 44; *Ibid.*, vol. 1656–1664, p. 57, Va. State Library.

[2] *Records of Accomac County*, original vol. 1632–1640, pp. 19, 95.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 24. Beaver and moose skins were legal tender in Canada about 1669 and 1674. See Weeden's *Social and Economic History of New England*, vol. I, p. 325. Rhode Island at one time made wool a standard of value. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 328.

CHAPTER XX

THE TOWN

In the account which I have given so far of the economic condition of the people of Virginia in the seventeenth century, it will have been seen that the general system of colonial life rested upon the plantation as the centre, and not, as in New England, upon the township. A just conception of its whole economic framework may be acquired by an investigation of the character of a single large plantation, whether that plantation was situated on the Potomac or the York, the Rappahannock or the James. Each component part of the community, that is, each plantation, was in itself a complete reflection of the entire community, whether bounded by the lines of one neighborhood or the whole Colony. The community was a series of plantations which were only locally distinguished from each other. In all essential particulars, they were practically the same. The plantation is of the first and highest importance in the study of the general system. As tobacco culture tended irresistibly to promote the constant expansion of the area of each plantation, by compelling the appropriation of virgin lands either by patent or purchase, the economic dependence of plantation on plantation was always growing weaker until, as the logical conclusion of the process, the owners were finally able to rely exclusively on the supplies, natural and manufactured, furnished by their own land, or by the foreign merchant. This local

isolation, this economic freedom, was thoroughly antagonistic to the concentration of population at different places in the Colony in the form of towns. The plantation was a small principality, the number of inhabitants of which was not in proportion to the extent of the property to which they were attached. The dependence of the servants and slaves upon their master was increased by the distance which lay between them and the settlements of the adjacent plantations, and the same fact increased the importance of the planter himself. It is easily perceived that the independence of his life, an independence extending to every branch of his affairs, social and economic, would have cultivated in him a strong distaste for the confined existence of residents in cities, which he had either observed when visiting England, or had been informed of through books or by travellers. Accustomed to the freedom of his own fields, woods, and streams, assured of the absolute subservience of the whole population of his plantation, with no neighbors of his own class sufficiently near to disturb his sense of local supremacy, with a firm conviction derived from practical experience that the main product of his soil compelled him to be always widening the area which he cultivated, with an inclination, moreover, for agricultural pursuits inherited from his English forefathers, confirmed and strengthened by all the conditions of his situation, it is natural that he should have exhibited no disposition to drift towards the life of towns. Indeed, it would have been remarkable if the gravitation had not been in the other direction.

I have already dwelt upon the effect of this tendency in discouraging the growth of the coöperative spirit among the planters. As the sense of personal independence increased, an inevitable result of the plantation life, the disinclination of the individual to combine with other individuals of the

same class for the accomplishment of common economic purposes became more marked. This spirit not only obstructed the systematic advance of manufactures, but it also prevented the erection of towns. So powerful was the tendency towards the concentration of all economic interests in the plantation, and so weak was the disposition of the planters to coöperate in their economic affairs, that even had Virginia in the seventeenth century possessed but one harbor to which all vessels engaged in transporting to the other Colonies and to Europe the tobacco produced in its soil had been compelled to resort in order to secure their cargoes, it is doubtful whether even then the absence of towns would have been less marked. There would have been a small concentration of population at that point, but not in proportion to the economic importance of the spot. Instead of there being one harbor, as suggested hypothetically, there were almost as many harbors as plantations. In the seventeenth century, as has been observed already, the area included in the patents was confined principally to the lands which were situated immediately on the navigable streams. The number of these streams was extraordinary. Beginning with the Powhatan, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac, there were, at comparatively short intervals, rivers, creeks, or estuaries deep enough to float the largest ships employed in the carrying trade between Virginia and England. At that early period, every planter owned a wharf; indeed the strongest reason after fertility of soil which influenced him in selecting a tract of land was that it fronted on a water highway. Even if the stream was not sufficiently deep to afford room for the keel of a large vessel, it gave free passage to the shallops in which the planter's tobacco could be conveyed to the place where the ship was lying at anchor. With these facilities at his own door for moving his crop to market, there was nothing to

be gained by transporting it either across country or by water to some far-off point which might have been fixed upon by law as a port of entry. There was not the slightest justification for such a course of action in any advantage which it might secure. On the contrary, every interest of the planter was opposed to it. There was a risk attending the shipment for a long distance in the shallop to be incurred, as well as the increased freight charges to be paid. By rolling his hogsheads directly on board of a sea-going vessel which had dropped anchor at his own wharf, or only a few miles away, he not only escaped all the perils to which his crop would have been exposed if conveyed for a distance in a frail boat heavily loaded, but he also retained the amount which he would otherwise have been compelled to expend in freight. The charge for transportation from his own wharf to England was the same as the charge from Jamestown or any other authorized port of entry. The cost of hiring a shallop was saved, or the inconvenience and loss of valuable time entailed in sending his servants and slaves in his own boats avoided.

The presence of a navigable stream near every plantation not only furnished its owner with a convenient highway for the removal of his tobacco to market, but it also enabled him to secure his imported supplies without the expense, inconvenience, or delay of sending for them beyond the bounds of his own estate. The ship could unload its cargo at his wharf, and there, too, he made his purchases or received the articles consigned to him by his English merchant.

The only place in Virginia previous to 1700 to which the name of a town could, with any degree of appropriateness, be applied, was Jamestown, and even this settlement never rose to a dignity superior to that of a village. The first structure bearing a resemblance to a house erected on

that site was the wooden fort which the adventurers began to build as soon as they had established themselves on land. The earliest dwellings were merely thatched cabins constructed with extraordinary rapidity under the energetic direction of Smith.[1] It is most probable that in deciding upon the relative situations of houses, the instructions of the Council brought over by the colonists were strictly followed. These instructions required that the dwellings should be set evenly upon a line on either side of the street, and that each street was to debouch into one central market square. The Council gave this direction in order that from one point all the streets might be commanded by field ordnance.[2] As soon as Captain Newport arrived with the First Supply, in the winter of 1607, he employed his men in erecting a storehouse and a church.[3] The entire group of houses appears to have been surrounded by a stockade. It was not long before a great fire broke out in the town, and as the dwellings were thatched with reeds, they soon fell a prey to the flames, which raged so fiercely that even the palisades standing a little distance away were entirely consumed. The arms, apparel, bedding, and a large quantity of provisions held in private ownership were destroyed. Mr. Hunt, the minister, also lost his collection of books.[4] The rebuilding of the town did not begin until the spring, at which time the work was undertaken under the supervision of Smith and Scrivener.[5] The erection of the second church and storehouse does not seem to have been completed before September. The church was like a barn in appearance, the base being

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 392.

[2] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 84.

[3] Wingfield's Discourse, *Works of Capt. John Smith*, Introduction, p. lxxxvi.

[4] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, p. 407.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 408, 409.

supported by crotchets, while the top was composed of rafts, sedge, and earth. The walls were made of the same rude materials.[1] The houses were also of similar composition and afforded only a frail protection against the wind and rain. Water was procured from a well which had been dug in one of the forts. The whole town was defended by twenty-four pieces of ordnance mounted on platforms and commanding an unobstructed view. In the early part of 1609, twenty additional houses were built at Jamestown. When Smith withdrew from Virginia in the fall of 1609, the town contained sixty houses.[2]

On Delaware's arrival in the Colony in the following year he found the dwellings in the extreme of decay. The town was described as having the appearance of a fortification which the action of time had overthrown. The palisades were prostrate on the ground, the gates were fallen from their hinges, and the church was sunk in ruin.[3] The buildings, it would seem, had been very unsubstantial in their construction, or the dampness of the climate had rotted the material of which they were made. Both influences were doubtless at work to produce the transformation, a transformation, we may remark, which was again frequently noted in the character of the town in its subsequent history. The structures put up in one year were in a state of decay before barely twelve months had elapsed, and in a few years were in a condition of complete ruin. This was illustrated in the most marked degree in the early history of Jamestown, but continued to be true of the place until the site of the town was abandoned.

One of the first steps taken by Delaware on assuming

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, pp. 471, 957.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 471, 486, 612.

[3] Council in Virginia to the London Company, Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 405.

control of the affairs of Jamestown, was to build a number of houses which are described as well protected against the encroachments of the severest weather. Their roofs were covered with boards and the sides of some were defended by Indian mats;[1] and yet in spite of the apparently substantial character of these dwellings, Sir Thomas Dale, when he reached Jamestown in the following year, after Delaware had been forced by bad health to withdraw from the Colony, was compelled to order the inhabitants to repair the church and storehouse at once, for fear that if this was longer deferred, the roofs and walls would tumble down on their heads.[2] He was not content with rebuilding the old structures at Jamestown and adding to their number a munition house, a house in which to cure sturgeon, a cattle-barn, and stable;[3] after some time devoted to a search for a site, he decided besides to establish a town on the neck of land which has in a more recent period been changed into an island by the digging of the Dutch Gap Canal. Here he first enclosed a plat of seven acres, raising at each corner a watch-tower. He then built a wooden church and several storehouses and laid off three streets, on the line of which framed dwellings were erected, with the first story of brick. Five houses were also built upon the verge of the river, and these were occupied by tenants who acted as sentinels for the approaches to the town by water. The erection of a hospital to contain four score rooms and beds seems to have been begun. According to Hamor, Henricopolis, the name given to the new town in honor of Prince Henry, presented at the end of four months

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, pp. 502, 503.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 507; Ralph Hamor's *True Discourse*, p. 26; Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 492.

[3] Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, p. 492; Neill's *Virginia Vetusta*, p. 81.

a more substantial aspect than Jamestown. Nevertheless, the new settlement soon showed the same symptoms of decline as the earlier one; the buildings began to decay, and during the five years that followed were only preserved by constant repairing. At the end of that time they appeared to have fallen into hopeless ruin. The brick church which Dale proposed to erect at Henrico never rose above its foundations, and even the foundations remained unfinished. It was designed to be one hundred feet in length and fifty in width.[1] In the meanwhile, Sir Thomas Gates, who had returned to Virginia, had expended much time and labor in increasing the number of the houses at Jamestown. Under his direction and supervision, two rows of framed buildings were constructed on either side of a regular street, these buildings being two stories in height, with a loft in which corn should be deposited. There were also three storehouses, which really formed one structure, with a breadth of forty feet and a length of one hundred and twenty. The whole town was enclosed in a paling. At the East End there was a platform for ordnance. A bridge was also built to connect the island with the mainland. There were situated outside of the fenced area several houses which Hamor described as pleasant and beautiful, but which were probably only so by contrast with the dwellings within. To these are to be added two block and a number of farm houses.[2]

The passage of a few years produced the same changes previously observed; indeed, it was now admitted that unless the houses and cabins were annually repaired they

[1] For these details, see Ralph Hamor's *True Discourse*, p. 30; *New Life of Virginia*, p. 14, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I; *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, p. 75.

[2] Hamor's *True Discourse*, p. 33; *Royal Hist. MSS. Commission*, Eighth Report, p. 42.

would fall into ruin. In spite of the substantial condition of Jamestown in 1614, it had been reduced by the time of Argoll's arrival, in 1617, to five or six buildings. The church had tumbled to the ground, the palisade had been broken, the bridge had gone to decay. One of the few structures remaining intact was the residence of the Governor.[1] Argoll took possession of this dwelling and afterwards enlarged it. A church fifty feet in length and twenty feet in breadth was built during the course of his brief administration, the inhabitants of Jamestown assuming the entire expense entailed by its erection.[2] No other house was constructed during the period of his control. The bounds of the corporation of Jamestown at this time, in addition to the whole of the island, included that part of the mainland situated on the east side of Argolltown, which probably lay opposite to Jamestown immediately on the back river; the neck of land on the north point, moreover, as far as the end of Archer's Hope; Hog Island, and the country to the south as far as Tappahannock.[3]

When Yeardley arrived in Virginia in 1619, not only was Jamestown in a state of great decay, but Henrico also and the adjacent settlements. There were at Henrico a few houses, all of which had gone to ruin. The church was in the last stage of dilapidation. The condition of the dwellings at Coxendale and Arrahattock resembled that of the houses at Henrico and Jamestown. There were also six houses at Charles City in ruin.[4] The activity displayed by Yeardley under the guidance of the

[1] *Works of Capt. John Smith*, pp. 535, 536.

[2] Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, p. 80.

[3] This was Tappahannock on the Powhatan; *Abstracts of Proceedings of the Virginia Company of London*, vol. II, p. 37.

[4] Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, p. 80.

persons who were now administering the affairs of the Company soon produced an improvement in the aspect of Jamestown; so many houses were erected, that by 1623 the number to be found there was quadruple the number in existence only five years earlier, and these houses were far superior to the latter in the character of their material and construction. It would appear that an inn had not yet been built, although sawyers had been engaged a short time before the massacre in preparing plank for such a structure. Sawyers had also been employed in securing timber for the construction of a palisade and Court of Guard.[1]

There have survived a number of deeds, recorded during the administration of Governor Wyatt, conveying title to plats of ground in the Corporation of Jamestown, which afford us a glimpse of the different ownerships at that time in the ground on which the town was situated. The residence of Governor Yeardley stood in the most extensive lot, the area within his enclosure being seven acres. There were four acres in the lot of Captain Roger Smith. The lot of Ralph Warnet, a prominent merchant, covered an acre and a half. The immediate neighbors of Warnet were George Menefie, Richard Stevens, and John Chew, who were also engaged in mercantile pursuits. The lot of Captain Ralph Hamor lay some distance from these properties.[2] The houses occupied by these citizens were built entirely of wood. The population of the town and corporation in February, 1623, was calculated at one hundred and eighty-two.[3]

[1] Governor Wyatt to John Ferrer, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 26; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1623*, p. 86, Va. State Library.

[2] *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 5.

[3] List of the Living and Dead in Virginia, 1623, *Colonial Records of Virginia*, State Senate Doct., Extra, p. 41.

Among the rules adopted in 1623 for the improvement of affairs in Virginia, was one requiring that all towns to be erected in future in the Colony should be built in the neighborhood of each other, this provision being suggested by the massacre of the previous year, which had been rendered more deadly in consequence of the fact that the different settlements were situated far apart, and so, in that terrible emergency, unable to afford any assistance to each other. The towns referred to were to be collections of farm-houses rather than towns in the ordinary sense of the word. The great mortality prevailing in Virginia in 1623 perhaps occasioned the further provision, that in choosing sites for towns and dwelling-houses only spots remarkable for their healthfulness should be chosen.[1] The same year was rendered still more notable as the date of the earliest of the orders passed to compel every ship arriving in Virginian waters to proceed to Jamestown without breaking the bulk of its cargo before reaching that place. The Governors of the Colony after the revocation of the charter of the Company were for many years successively instructed to enforce this regulation. The effect anticipated was not only that an end would be put to the habit of forestalling imported supplies, but also that the population of that place would be increased owing to the extension of the opportunities for employment.

The practical operation of these laws in time excited great discontent, and the committee in England in charge of the affairs of the Plantations was in 1638 earnestly petitioned to express disapproval of them. One of the principal grounds upon which they were opposed was that there were no houses at Jamestown in which either tobacco or goods could be stored. The sub-committee, in

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. II, No. 35.

its report on these objections, which were submitted for a decision, expressed the warmest approval of the regulation itself, but recommended its temporary suspension for the reason that the public storehouse at Jamestown had fallen into ruin and the private storehouses were too few in number to furnish room for the goods landed by the merchants. It was recommended in addition that the Governor should encourage citizens of the Colony to build warehouses for the purpose of renting them to members of this class.[1] The authorities in Virginia appear to have disregarded this order suspending the law, because they were irritated, partly by the insolence of the shipmasters, who openly boasted of their power to do away with any regulation which obstructed their freedom in trading, and partly by a desire to prevent forestalling. Commenting on the report of the sub-committee, the Governor and Council declared that there was but one way of encouraging the building of towns, namely, by confining the local trade to certain points, as this would compel merchants and mechanics to establish themselves there in pursuit of their special branches of business. The order of the Lords Commissioners suspending the requirement that all ships should proceed to Jamestown until storehouses had been erected at that place, had, it was claimed by the Governor and Council, a disheartening effect upon many persons who had determined to build there. The order was wholly unnecessary, inasmuch as there was a sufficient number of stores for the protection and shelter of all goods brought in.[2]

[1] Report of Sub-Committee for Foreign Plantations, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. IX, No. 122; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 29, Va. State Library.

[2] Governor Harvey and Council to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, pp. 50–57, Va. State Library.

Under an Act of the General Assembly passed in 1636[1] a lot sufficiently extensive in area to furnish room for a house and garden was granted, at an annual rental to the King of one copper, to every person settling at Jamestown.[2] This Act, which was renewed in 1638, seems to have accomplished in a measure its object. For the length of half a mile along the river bank, not a foot of ground remained unappropriated as a site for a private residence. Nevertheless, only twelve houses and stores were erected. The number included a residence of brick for Secretary Kemp, of such solid and uniform construction that it was pronounced to be the finest house, public or private, as yet built in the Colony. His example led others to erect framed houses. It was at this time that a large amount of tobacco was contributed for the building of a brick church. It appears that the design aroused very general interest, for the contributors to it included masters of ships and planters who lived in other parts of the Colony, as well as residents of Jamestown.[3] A levy was also ordered for the purpose of erecting a state-house and repairing the fort at Point Comfort, and it was to secure mechanics for these public works that Menefie's visit to England in 1638 was undertaken. The state-house when completed was forty feet in length and twenty feet in width.[4] It was constructed of brick. There is no evidence that at this time

[1] See *Va. Land Patents*, vol. 1623–1643, p. 689.

[2] Governor Harvey and Council to Privy Council, *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. X, No. 5; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1638*, p. 54, Va. State Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[4] On each side of the state-house there was a building of the same length and width. The three structures came into possession of Henry Randolph, who in 1671 conveyed the middle one to Nathaniel Bacon, Sr.; the second to Colonel Thomas Swann; and the third to Thomas Ludwell. See General Court Rule Book, No. 2, pp. 155, 617, *Robinson Transcripts*, p. 258.

there was an inn at Jamestown; only a few years before, Governor Harvey had complained that he could with as much justice be called the host as the Governor of Virginia from the number of people entertained by him in the absence of a public house.[1]

Berkeley arrived in Virginia in 1642. The seventeenth clause of his instructions as Governor of the Colony conferred upon him and his Council the power to lay off the site of Jamestown in such a manner as should appear to them most advisable. Every person to whom a lot was granted was required to construct a residence of brick sixteen feet in breadth and twenty-four feet in length. There was to be a cellar under each house. The Governor was authorized to erect a building in which the Council and himself might convene and consult on affairs of public interest and decide cases. It was perhaps the most notable feature of Berkeley's instructions that the Governor and Council, with the advice of the Assembly, could remove the capital of the Colony if the dilapidation of the houses at Jamestown and the unwholesomeness of the spot were sufficiently great to justify it; the new town, if the determination were favorable to its erection, should still be known by the old name.[2]

There still remained at Jamestown many lots unused as building sites, and as they were eligibly situated and their practical abandonment interfered very seriously with the extension of the town, it was provided by law that whoever should erect a residence on one of these lots should be protected in his occupation whether his title to the ground was valid or not, the only condition imposed being that he

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial*, vol. VI, No. 54; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1632*, p. 35, Va. State Library.

[2] Instructions to Berkeley, 1641, § 17, *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 382, Va. State Library.

should pay the regular quit-rent. If the original owner insisted upon his proprietorship in the lot, his claim was not to be allowed, but another lot as near to it as could be obtained was to be assigned him.[1]

The regulation establishing market days in Jamestown, Wednesdays and Saturdays being selected, seemed calculated to increase the importance of the town, but in practical operation it accomplished nothing, and in consequence was repealed in 1655.[2]

The wild character of many of the schemes agitated about the middle of the century, with a view to the promotion of town building, is illustrated by the suggestion advanced by the author of the pamphlet *Virginia's Cure*.[3] He proposed that every person in the Colony who had a large number of servants in his employment, should build a house in the town situated nearest to his plantation. Here he and his family should dwell, the planter visiting his estate as often as he considered that his interests demanded it. On Saturday afternoon, when, according to the custom prevalent in Virginia, the servants were relieved of work, the author recommended that they should be ordered to leave the plantations, a few only being instructed to remain, the rest to go to the towns in which their masters had taken up their residence, and there in their masters' houses to spend the Sabbath. This would give them an opportunity to attend divine service, a privilege from which they were debarred, at the date of this pamphlet, by the remoteness of the plantations and the sparseness of the population, both of which circumstances were hostile to the prosperity of the church in the Colony. This notion was probably suggested to the

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. I, p. 252.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 362, 397.

[3] Virginia's Cure, p. 10, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. III.

author by the system prevailing in several continental countries, in which the village was the centre of each agricultural community. It only shows how ignorant were the Englishmen of that day of the economic conditions in operation in Virginia as a consequence of the peculiar character of their staple product. This product, as already pointed out, promoted irresistibly the constant enlargement of the plantation, dispersed the population, and sank the importance of the community, while it raised the importance of the separate estate. The proposition that the owners of the land should reside in towns might have been practicable had they been able to rent their plantations to tenants after the English fashion, but, as has already been observed, there was no marked disposition among the inhabitants of the Colony to lease lands on account of the vast extent of the virgin soil which remained unappropriated. The average planter was compelled to give his personal attention to the management of his property, whether he had an overseer in his employment or not. If all the landowners of a large neighborhood had lived together in a single village, it would have been necessary for each one to spend a considerable portion of his time each day in making the journey to and from his plantation. This plan of life was not possible in a country where the estates, owing to their extent, were remote from a common centre. Such a physical obstacle would have been insurmountable even if the natural leaning of the people of the Colony had been towards urban life. But this was not their inclination, and all the influences of tobacco culture tended to confirm their disposition in the opposite direction.

If there really existed any desire among the planters at large to promote the building of towns, it would have taken no practical shape but for the periodical instructions

by the authorities in England to the Governors of Virginia to see to the passage of laws having that object in view. For a long series of years, the anxiety of the English Government was confined to the extension of Jamestown, the effort towards which appears to have inflicted only a burden on the people,[1] but in 1662, Berkeley, who had been restored to his old position at the head of the Colony, after the return of the Stuarts to power, was commanded to use his influence to induce the planters to erect a town upon every important river. It is a significant commentary on the effect of the numerous laws which had been passed with a view to enlarging Jamestown, that Berkeley was specially directed to begin at this place the new attempt at town-building in Virginia. Such was the recommendation which was necessary after all the carefully considered undertakings of fifty years. Jamestown was still to be seated; the Governor had, practically, still to lay its foundations and to promote its growth with the most vigilant solicitude. Berkeley himself was commanded by the English Government to build several houses in the town, presumably at his own expense, and he was told to inform the members of the Council that the authorities in England would be highly pleased if each one would erect a residence at Jamestown.[2] To such expedients was the English Government driven to breathe life into that languishing corporation! It might have been supposed that the Committee for Foreign Plantations in England would, by this time, have plainly understood that if the local conditions in Virginia had failed to promote the growth of towns there, all the legislation which might be enacted in the

[1] Grievances of Surry County, 1676–1677, *British State Papers, Colonial*, Virginia, No. 62; *Winder Papers*, vol. II, p. 160, Va. State Library.

[2] Instructions to Berkeley, 1662, § 1, *McDonald Papers*, vol. I, p. 414, Va. State Library.

future, like all that had been enacted in the past, would accomplish nothing whatever, but the belief was still too widespread that a statute had power to effect any purpose, however opposed to the spirit of the economic system of the people upon whose interests it was designed to operate.

The General Assembly showed great willingness to conform to the wishes of the English Government, although its members must have perceived very clearly the impracticability of all schemes to promote the building of towns in the Colony. In the session of 1661–62, the law requiring that every ship which arrived in James River should sail to Jamestown and there obtain a license to trade was reënacted,[1] in spite of the fact that such a measure would add nothing to the growth of that place, as had been already proved by previous experience, and must enhance to an appreciable extent the cost of all imported articles in consequence of the longer voyage and unavoidable delay in delivering them, the expenses of the vessel being recouped by the higher prices demanded from the purchaser of the goods. There was now but one justification for the action of the Assembly in taking steps to compel all vessels bringing cargoes of goods into the Colony to go to Jamestown and there obtain a license to sell, namely, the endeavor to keep the volume of revenue undiminished, since all liquors, if landed elsewhere, escaped the burden of the import tax. But if this was the motive governing the Assembly, it was soon seen that the regulation was impracticable. A determined effort was now made to carry out the instruction that a town should be built upon every river to serve as a port of entry. In the session of 1662 there was passed the most detailed and carefully considered measure which had as yet been brought forward.[2]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 135. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 170–176.

This law constitutes one of the most interesting acts of legislation in colonial history, and might be regarded as a remarkable triumph of legislative hope over practical experience were it not for the statement of the preamble that the Assembly had undertaken to encourage the building of towns because they looked upon it as their duty to conform to the wishes of their sovereign in England. There is a brief reference to the probable economic advantages to accrue to themselves. The determination to establish these towns had its origin almost exclusively in a feeling of loyalty, a poor justification for so momentous a step. The hand of Berkeley is detected in the whole framework of the statute and his preference is evidently consulted.

A full synopsis of this Act will be found interesting as revealing the procedure of the General Assembly in the seventeenth century when it sought to build up a town in the face of a powerful combination of hostile influences. The best means to promote the growth of the capital was the problem which was to occupy the attention of the Colony during the first year after the passage of the statute, and at the end of that time, the public energies were to be devoted to establishing a town on the York, Rappahannock, and Potomac respectively, and on the Eastern Shore. Under the terms of this statute, it was provided that Jamestown should consist of thirty-two houses, a number which indicated that the General Assembly was disposed to be moderate and prudent in its requirements. Each house was to be forty feet from end to end, twenty feet in width in the interior, and eighteen feet in height. Each was to be constructed of brick. The walls were to be two bricks in thickness as far as the water table, and one and a half the remaining distance. The roof was to be covered with slate or tile, and was to be fifteen feet in pitch. The manner of the relative arrangement of the

houses, whether in a square or line, was left to be decided by the Governor.

Although the Colony had prospered in a fair measure for a period of fifty years without having a large settlement at Jamestown, nevertheless, it had now been determined in earnest to establish one there. It was thought advisable to proceed with great dispatch. To accomplish this, each of the seventeen counties into which Virginia was divided at this time, was ordered to build a house at Jamestown at its own expense. The authority was conferred on all to impress into service the mechanics needed for the work, such as bricklayers, carpenters, sawyers, and other tradesmen. The strictest regulations were laid down to prevent every kind of exaction. The bricks were to be manufactured in the most careful manner and were in size to represent statute measure; the price was not to exceed one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco for every one thousand. In addition to receiving his food without charge, the ordinary laborer engaged in erecting a house was to be paid at the rate of two thousand pounds of tobacco a year. The brickmakers and bricklayers were to be remunerated according to the number of bricks moulded and laid, while the wages of each carpenter were not to exceed thirty pounds of tobacco a day. Each sawyer was to receive half a pound of tobacco for every foot of plank and timber for joices which he fashioned into shape. The workmen furnished by each county were ordered to report themselves twenty days after the Governor had forwarded to the commissioners of the county the notice to send them. The keepers of the taverns at Jamestown were required to supply the ordinary laborer with food at the rate of one thousand pounds of tobacco a year, and the most skilled workmen at the rate of fifteen hundred.

There was not a landowner in the Colony upon whom

the enforcement of this law would not impose a more or less onerous burden. Thus it directed that a levy of thirty pounds of tobacco a head should be raised by the counties, and that each county should use ten thousand pounds of the amount thus collected, in paying for the construction of the house which it was required to build at Jamestown, in case the structure was completed in the course of two years after the original subscription. Ten thousand pounds of tobacco were also granted to every person who finished, at that place, a dwelling of the prescribed size before the termination of the same time. The surplusage of the general levy was to be distributed by the Governor and Council among those who had undertaken to erect houses, in the order of time in which these houses were completed. If any one who had bound himself to build at Jamestown in accord with the provisions of the law, should fail to carry out his agreement within the period allowed, he exposed himself to a fine of fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco. In order to induce persons to erect brick houses on the lots assigned them, they were granted a fee simple title to ground adjacent to their property sufficient in extent to afford room for a store.

Having taken measures which seemed adapted to ensure the erection of a large number of houses and stores, the General Assembly, recognizing that unless a steady volume of trade could be secured for the inhabitants, the corporation would have no reason for existence, established the regulation that from the year Jamestown was completed, the tobacco crops of James City, Charles City, and Surry should be transported thither in sloops and shallops, and there put on board ships. If a planter refused to conform to this regulation, he was to be mulcted one thousand pounds of tobacco. The remuneration of each person who should convey the tobacco of others in his sloop or

shallop to Jamestown was fixed at ten pounds of that commodity per thousand, and the owner of the storehouse in which it was deposited was to receive six pounds in the same proportion. None of these charges prevailed under the system in force at the time this statute became a law; the planter rolled his tobacco on board the merchantman at his wharf, or transported it in a sloop of his own to a point where the vessel was lying. No expense, as a rule, was incurred in this course, for the work was generally performed by his own men. The charges entailed by the proposed law would have been borne with impatience even during periods of high prices for tobacco, but when this product was selling at a low rate the burden was intolerable, and was in itself sufficient to render the statute in operation altogether hopeless of a good effect. To ensure the transfer of a still larger quantity of tobacco to Jamestown, it was further provided that no vessel should take on board a cargo between that place and Mulberry Island. All tobacco ready for shipment above the latter point was to be conveyed to Jamestown first, and there loaded for transportation abroad. Whatever merchandise was consigned to planters or merchants residing between the capital and Mulberry Island was to be landed at the former place, and, if a vessel was loaded or unloaded elsewhere, its cargo was to be forfeited. To promote the growth of population at Jamestown, it was provided that during the first two years following the inauguration of the work of building houses there, the person and property of every man who resided in the town, and passed to and from it in the course of his daily business, should for two years be exempted from every form of legal process unless it was issued for debt contracted within the bounds of the corporation, or for the commission of a capital crime. An important provision of the law was that after its passage

no wooden house was to be erected in Jamestown, and all such houses then standing in the Colony should not be repaired with the same material, but should be replaced by structures of brick. The levy of thirty pounds of tobacco a head was for the period of one year to be devoted to the extension of Jamestown, but after the expiration of that time, the annual levy for building was to be expended in establishing towns in Accomac, and on the York, Rappahannock, and Potomac.

This brief synopsis of the law of 1662 shows how elaborate were the provisions of that measure for the enlargement more especially of Jamestown. As far as legislation, independently of favorable local conditions, could create a town where none existed, it might be supposed that this law would have been successful in accomplishing its object, so far, at least, as the capital was concerned. It provided in detail for the erection of a number of houses at a cost which was distributed among the people of the seventeen counties.[1] The mechanics to be employed in the work were to be provided for properly, and to be fully remuner-

[1] "Whereas by act of last session (1662) of the Hon^ble^ Grand Assembly, a towne is appointed to be builded at James Citty, and in order thereto each County is to build one house of bricke. It is ordered that a house be there built for this County (York) and as the county house, of the length, height and wideness appointed by ye said Act, and Maj. Joseph Croshaw who hath undertaken the same is by ye court nominated and impowered to have the whole management and ordering thereof, and of all things relating thereunto, viz, hyre and agree with or if occasion be, to presse workmen, labourers and others in the county, according to Act, and at ye prizes thereby set, and to take care that all timber worke and other things convenient be fitted and caryed in place, and the said house built and finished with what speed may be, and to doe and procure to be done all other necessary thing or things concerning ye same where agreements and disbursements to be sattisfied in ye county to ye persons employed, and said Maj. Croshaw's pains and trouble in ye management thereof to be considered and allowed by ye County." *Records of York County*, vol. 1657–1662, p. 475, Va. State Library.

ated for their labor. Title in fee simple to a lot was to be given, without charge, to every one who erected a house in the town, and finally, trade was to be secured for it by making it the only port on the James above Mulberry Island where a cargo could be legally loaded and unloaded. Necessarily, if this regulation was strictly enforced, Jamestown would become the residence of all the principal merchants in that part of the Colony. What was the practical result of all these carefully considered provisions? Three years after their adoption, Secretary Ludwell, writing to Secretary Bennett in England, stated that enough of the proposed town had been built to accommodate the officers employed in the civil administration of Virginia,[1] but this, it may be inferred from a remark contained in a letter from Morryson to Lord Clarendon, amounted only to the construction of four or five houses. He declared that the erection of this scanty number of buildings had entailed the loss of hundreds of people, apprehension of impressment having driven many mechanics from the Colony.[2]

In 1675, Jamestown consisted of only twelve or fourteen families, who obtained a living chiefly by keeping houses of entertainment.[3] This would signify a population of about seventy-five. There were twelve new brick houses and a number of framed houses with brick chimneys attached, the value of the whole number, it was

[1] *British State Papers, Colonial Papers*, April 10, 1665; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1665*, p. 72, Va. State Library.

[2] This letter is given in Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 295. The following is taken from the *Grievances of Surry County*, drawn up in response to the special request of the English commissioners sent to inquire into the causes of Bacon's Insurrection: "That great quantityes of tobacco were levied upon ye poore inhabitants of this Collony for the building of houses att James Citty, which were not inhabitable by reason they were not finished." *British State Papers, Colonial*, Virginia, No. 62; *Winder Papers*, vol. II, p. 160, Va. State Library.

[3] Bacon's Proceedings, p. 25, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I.

calculated, being 1,500,000 pounds of tobacco.[1] All the houses were not inhabited.[2] The two most substantial residences in the town at this time were owned by Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Drummond, men who figured very prominently in the popular uprising in the following year. The town extended about three-quarters of a mile from east to west.[3] When Jamestown was laid in ashes by the soldiers of Bacon, Drummond and Lawrence applied the torch each to his own home. The church and state-house were both destroyed in the conflagration. When the English regiments dispatched to the Colony to suppress the insurrection arrived, there was not a house left standing in the town to furnish them shelter from the weather.[4] The commissioners sent to Virginia to inquire into the causes which led to the uprising of the people reported in favor of continuing the capital at Jamestown, and this recommendation received the approval of the Privy Council.[5] The General Assembly had proposed to move the chief seat to Tyndall's Point in Gloucester.[6] When Culpeper was appointed to the head of affairs in Virginia, he was instructed to rebuild Jamestown and to reëstablish there the executive residence, the principal courts of justice and the other public offices. It was

[1] Final Report of the English Commissioners on Bacon's Rebellion, *Winder Papers*, vol. II, p. 503, Va. State Library. The destruction of several of the chief residences alone involved the loss of £1000. *Ibid.*, p. 446.

[2] Bacon's Proceedings, p. 25, Force's *Historical Tracts*, vol. I.

[3] By the provisions of a law passed during the supremacy of Bacon, the corporation of Jamestown was made to include the whole island as far as Sandy Bay. See Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 362.

[4] *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 80, pp. 90, 94.

[5] Order of King in Council, March 14, 1678–79, *Colonial Entry Book*, No. 80, pp. 266, 273; *Sainsbury Abstracts for 1678*, p. 212, Va. State Library.

[6] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, p. 405.

further declared that it would give the King much satisfaction if the members of the Council and the leading citizens of the Colony should build houses at Jamestown and dwell there. A state-house was soon erected to accommodate the Burgesses, the Secretary, and the Clerk. A prison was also built.[1] The population of Virginia was now spread over such a wide area that the necessity of increasing the number of ports of entry as each successive statute for the encouragement of the growth of towns was enacted, was clearly recognized. It was impossible even for the English authorities, who had shown so much blindness in the past to the physical conditions of the country, to entertain the belief that Jamestown could still be made the only port of entry and that all efforts should be restricted to enlarging that place; they therefore recommended that a town should be built in the valley of each of the principal rivers. The need of this, in case ports of entry were to be established by law, had been known as early as 1662, and this need had only grown in force with the expansion in the volume of population and the extension of the area of the plantations.

Culpeper arrived in the Colony in May, 1680, and in the following month an elaborate measure for the encouragement of Cohabitation was passed by the General Assembly.[2] In this statute, no special preference was shown to Jamestown, as had been the case in all previous Acts relating to the subject. Virginia had not yet recovered from the confusion caused by the insurrection of

[1] See Address of Burgesses to Howard, Oct. 4, 1685. See order of same, *British State Papers*, *Colonial Entry Book*, Virginian Assembly No. 86; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VII, pp. 365, 367, Va. State Library.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. II, pp. 471, 478. Fitzhugh, writing to Captain Francis Partis, July 1, 1680, said: "We are going to make towns; if you can meet with any tradesmen that will come in and live at the town, they may have large privileges and immunities." *Letters*, July 1, 1680.

a few years before; the people were in a state of poverty in consequence of the turmoil through which they had passed and the continued low price of tobacco, and they were, therefore, prepared to adopt any suggestion which seemed likely to afford them relief. They were disposed to countenance a new Act of Cohabitation, in the hope that it would raise up occupations for the inhabitants of the Colony and probably diminish their dependence upon England for manufactures, the cost of which fell very heavily upon the people when their main commodity was depressed in value. The new statute made no reference to this anticipation, nor did it contain, like the statute of 1662, the expression of a loyal desire to conform to the wishes of the King; it merely declared that the reasons prompting its passage were the low prices of tobacco and the great advantages which would accrue from the establishment of storehouses at convenient places for the reception of all merchandise to be imported into the country and all tobacco to be exported. Under the terms of this statute, it was provided that fifty acres should be purchased by the authorities of each county in its own boundaries, to be held by duly appointed feoffees in trust. The price to be paid for this land was set at ten thousand pounds of tobacco, against which appraisement the owner of each fifty acres was without right of appeal, nor could he make a legal resistance to the appropriation itself. He was required to pass an absolute deed of conveyance, and in case he refused to do so, mere entry by the feoffees dispossessed him of his legal title. The following places were selected as sites for new towns: Varina in Henrico, Fleur de Hundred in Charles City, Smith's Fort in Surry, Jamestown in James City, Patesfield in Isle of Wight, Huff's Point in Nansemond, mouth of Deep Creek in Warwick, the Jervise plantation in Elizabeth City,

the Wise plantation in Lower Norfolk, the Read plantation in York, the Brick House in New Kent, Tyndall's Point in Gloucester, the Wormeley plantation in Middlesex, Hobb's Hole in Rappahannock, Peace Point in Stafford, Calvert's Neck in Accomac, the Secretary's plantation on King's Creek in Northampton, Corotoman in Lancaster, and Chickacony in Northumberland.

As an inducement to build on these sites, a lot, half an acre in extent, was granted in fee simple to any one on condition of erecting a residence and store on it, this conveyance to be subject to the additional condition that the beneficiary should pay one hundred pounds to the county. The failure in the course of three months to build operated as a forfeiture of the lot. If half an acre appeared insufficient for his purpose to any settler who wished to establish himself in any one of these towns, he might secure an acre on condition that he should erect on it two residences and two warehouses, and should pay to the county an additional one hundred pounds of tobacco. The tobacco was forfeited if in the course of three months he neglected to erect the houses agreed upon. The surveyors who determined the boundaries were to receive, on the delivery of the plats, twenty pounds of tobacco for every half-acre laid off. If a surveyor refused when requested to make a survey of a lot, he subjected himself to the forfeiture of five hundred pounds of the same commodity to the person seeking his services. All the products of native growth and manufacture were to be brought to these towns, there to be sold, and then to be carried on board for exportation abroad. The penalty imposed for a failure to comply with this order was the forfeiture of the articles. All forms of merchandise, all English servants and negro slaves imported into the Colony, were to be landed and to be disposed of only in these

towns, under the pain of confiscation if the regulation was violated. Cattle and provisions were excepted from the operation of this rule. The cost of hiring a sloop, the only means of transporting the tobacco from the plantations, was fixed at twenty pounds of that commodity for each hogshead, provided the distance to be traversed did not exceed thirty miles; if it was greater than this, the charge was to be forty pounds, and should the owner of the sloop demand more, he was to be punished by the forfeiture of one hundred pounds for each hogshead conveyed by him at the illegal rate. The expense of storage in a warehouse was to be the same for a single day and a single month, namely, ten pounds of tobacco a hogshead. If the period ran beyond a month, the additional charge for each month was fixed at six pounds. In order to facilitate the transportation of the tobacco belonging to persons whose plantations were situated at a distance from the nearest site chosen for a town, these persons were permitted to appropriate land at the most convenient point for the dispatch of vessels, on which a rolling-house was to be erected to furnish accommodation for all the producers in their neighborhood. When the planter had prepared his crop for shipment, he could convey his hogsheads to this house for safe-keeping until a sloop or shallop arrived to transport them to the nearest port of entry. If he had a sloop or shallop of his own, he could either carry his tobacco to the rolling-house by water or directly to the legal port and there have it deposited in the public warehouse. The rolling-house was expected to be a shelter not only for the tobacco in the course of transportation to the port of entry, but also for the goods which had been unloaded at the latter place and had afterwards been brought to the rolling-house for distribution among the planters residing in the neighborhood.

It can be seen how seriously a provision of this kind, if carried fully into effect, would have added to the expenses of the planter. Instead of dropping its anchor at his wharf and there discharging a cargo of goods and taking on a cargo of tobacco, the trading vessel would have stopped at a point ten, twenty, or even fifty miles away. Whether the planter was compelled to reach this vessel by transporting his tobacco in a hired shallop or sloop, or in a vessel of his own, he would have been put to an expense for which he could expect no return. The intervention of a rolling-house would have been favorable to his convenience, but would not have diminished the charge imposed by the system of ports of entry. Under the terms of this law, the tobacco conveyed thither was to be exempted in the course of transportation, and after it reached its destination, from the process of law for any debt which might have been contracted previous to the passage of the statute, and the same privilege was extended to the bodies and estates of the citizens of the new town. In neither case, however, was it to continue for a longer period than five years. At the end of that time, the creditors of such persons might bring suit without apprehension lest the statute of limitations should be offered in bar. To enjoy this protection, it was necessary that the debt should not have been contracted within the bounds of one of the proposed corporations. After the publication of the Act, all mechanics residing in the new communities were to be exempted for a period of five years from the payment of levies, on condition that they neither planted nor tended tobacco. In order to diminish the expense entailed in establishing a town, it was provided that two counties might unite and erect it upon a site equally convenient to the inhabitants of both.

This Act was as judicious and as far-seeing in its details

as any law with so impracticable an object in view could have been. No influence was omitted that was likely to impress the minds of persons who were in a position to build in the towns projected. The offer of a lot for a small amount of tobacco and the exemption within the boundaries of each town of the person and property of its citizens from the process of law for the recovery of debts which had been contracted previously elsewhere, were in themselves inducements of the highest importance. The law of 1680 was not open to the objection which could be very justly urged against the statute of 1671, for it did not seek to establish one port on each of the four large rivers of the Colony; on the contrary, a port of entry was appointed for each county on a site admitted to be the most convenient for a majority of its inhabitants.

In accord with the provisions of the Act of Cohabitation, steps were taken by the authorities of all the counties to lay off sites for towns at the different places designated by law. Records of this fact have come down to us in a few instances only. In the levy entered in court in Lancaster in January, 1683, five hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco were allowed George Heale for defining the boundaries of the proposed port of entry at Corotoman.[1] In 1681, Robert Beverley and Abraham Weeks were appointed to serve as trustees of the town to be built in Middlesex.[2] The feoffees empowered to act in Norfolk County were William Robinson and Antony Lawson, and among the first purchasers of lots were such prominent citizens as Peter Smith, Richard Whitby, Henry Spratt, and William Porteus.[3] The feoffees who conveyed

[1] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1680–1686, orders Jan. 10, 1682–83.

[2] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, p. 41.

[3] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1686, f. p. 126.

title to property in New Plymouth, in Rappahannock, were John Stone, William Lloyd, Henry Awbrey, and Thomas Gouldman.[1]

Jamestown, instead of deriving any practical benefit from the passage of the Cohabitation Act, suffered a positive disadvantage. The opinion had for some time prevailed in the Colony that the capital was far less favorably situated than many spots which might have been chosen for the same purpose. When the statute of 1680 became a law, there was a general impression that one of the towns to be established under its terms would be selected as the metropolis of Virginia, and in consequence many persons who would have otherwise felt differently and probably acted accordingly, were indisposed to build residences at Jamestown. The expressed wish of the King that the members of the Council and other citizens of prominence and influence should set an example to the population at large by establishing homes at that place, failed to have a general effect. Colonel Bacon built two houses in the town, and Colonel Bridger and Mr. Sherwood laid the foundation of others.[2]

Many of the shipmasters appear to have disregarded the statute of 1680 as if it had no existence,[3] while many discontinued their commercial intercourse with the Colony.

[1] *Records of Rappahannock County*, vol. 1680–1688, p. 2, Va. State Library. A plat of the town will be found on p. 1 of this volume of Rappahannock records.

[2] Instructions to Culpeper, 1681–82. His reply to § 68, *British State Papers, Colonial*, Virginia, vol. 65; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 165, Va. State Library.

[3] In some cases, the shipmasters who treated the Act with contempt were arrested, and their cargoes of tobacco seized. See information against the *Recovery* and the *Baltimore*, *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, p. 60. See appeal of the captains of these two vessels from the warrants issued to enforce the forfeiture of the tobacco which they had taken on board. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

To such an extent did the Act curtail the revenue which the English Government annually derived from Virginia, and so much did it interfere with the profits of the English merchants who found a market in the Colony,[1] that it was at length suspended, but not until it had become thoroughly odious to the people, more especially in consequence of the prosecutions arising under the provisions of the law for the payment of forfeitures for violation of its terms.[2] The whole question as to establishing a number of towns was referred back to the General Assembly. This was the first practical admission on the part of the English Government that the policy of promoting town building in the Colony, which it had so long urged upon the attention of the people of Virginia, had ended in failure.[3] The conflict of opinion as to the causes of this failure was very marked. Secretary Spencer was inclined to ascribe it to the fact that the erection of too many towns was undertaken. It would have been far wiser, he thought, to have attempted to build only one on each river.[4] In the opinion of others, the whole scheme was impracticable, whether it was sought to erect only one town on each of the important streams or a town in each county, and this opinion seems to have been fully confirmed by the practical effect of the Cohabitation Act of 1662, and also by that of 1680, the latter providing for the erection of a town in each county, the former for the erection of a town in the valley of each of the principal rivers.

[1] *Randolph MSS.*, vol. III, p. 400.

[2] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 541.

[3] Order on the Act of Cohabitation, Privy Council, Dec. 21, 1681, *British State Papers*, Virginia, No. 82; *McDonald Papers*, vol. VI, p. 7, Va. State Library.

[4] Letter of Nicholas Spencer, Aug. 20, 1680, *British State Papers*, Virginia, No. 80; *McDonald Papers*, vol. V, p. 373, Va. State Library.

It would have been supposed that the result of the Act of 1680 would have discouraged all further efforts to revive this class of laws. Eleven years later, however, what was known as the Act for Ports was passed. This measure, like the majority of similar ones in the past, became a law at the suggestion of the man who was at that time at the head of affairs in Virginia. In this instance, it was Governor Nicholson.[1] The people at large were adverse to the passage of such a statute, as we know from records left by contemporaneous observers.[2] It was not always an easy matter, they argued, for the inhabitants of the Colony to earn a livelihood, though dwelling dispersed, as they were then doing, in a manner to leave ground for each individual to cultivate. How much more difficult for a hundred families to obtain subsistence when they should be confined to an area not more than half a mile in extent! Now, this was an entirely valid inference to draw in the light of the peculiar economic system prevailing in Virginia; there was no substantial interest demanding the presence of a hundred families upon any one contracted site in the Colony, and in the absence of such an interest, they must necessarily lack the means of support and in consequence suffer severely. It was pointed out at the time of the passage of the Act for Ports that the greater number of Burgesses were entirely ignorant of the conveniences and advantages of towns, having never in their lives enjoyed an opportunity of visiting one. The authors of the *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, writing in the closing years of the seventeenth century, agreed with Secretary Spencer in thinking that the mistake committed in the Acts establishing towns and ports of entry was in the appointment of too

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 81.

[2] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, § 1, p. 8.

many sites, a mistake which, they asserted, was to be laid at the door of the Burgesses, each of whom desired to have a town in his own immediate neighborhood, if not on his own plantation.[1] It is much more probable, however, that the Burgesses clearly recognized the impracticable character of the schemes for the building of towns, and wished to diminish the inconvenience which the law entailed in requiring one at least to be erected in each county or one port of entry to be laid off there. They had their eyes, perhaps, not so much upon an advantage to be gained as upon an injury to be avoided.

The Act for Ports, in 1691, provided for the erection of a greater number of towns than the Cohabitation Act of 1680. For the counties of Charles City, Gloucester, Nansemond, Elizabeth City, York, James City, Middlesex, Northumberland, Rappahannock, and Accomac, the sites chosen were the same under both measures. The port for Lower Norfolk was again placed at the mouth of the eastern branch of Elizabeth River, for Stafford on Potomac Creek,[2] for Northampton on Cherrystone Creek, and for Lancaster on the west side of the mouth of the Corotoman. In addition to these ports of entry and clearing, there were a number of points selected as places for selling and buying goods, namely, at Bermuda Hundred in Henrico, at the mouth of Pagan Creek in the Isle of Wight, at the mouth of Deep Creek in Warwick, at the mouth of Gray's Creek in Surry, and at the mouth of Nominy in Westmoreland. Several of these spots had been surveyed under the terms of the law of 1680, and contained a number of residences as well as prisons and court-houses built of brick. The justices of the peace in each county decided upon the fifty acres which were to be set apart as the site for the county port;

[1] Hartwell, Chilton, and Blair's *Present State of Virginia*, 1697, p. 10.

[2] The name given to this port was Marlborough.

this area was carefully surveyed, and lots determined for the stores and warehouses in which imported goods and tobacco for exportation were to be deposited. If the owner of the land appropriated refused to give it up, a jury of twelve men, summoned by the sheriff, were to assess its value, and the amount thus named was to be satisfied by a levy upon every tithable in the county. When the owner of the site of a port had transferred his title to the feoffees, or that title had passed to them by his refusal to make a deed, they were authorized to grant half an acre or more to any person who should agree to erect on it in the course of four months a house twenty feet square. After October, 1692, all merchandise brought into the Colony and all the products sent out were to pass through one of these ports, and if they were conveyed into or out of the county elsewhere, their forfeiture was to be the penalty.[1]

The support which this measure had in popular favor was shown in the action of many of the leading citizens of the Colony with reference to building a town at York. A plat of ground owned by Benjamin Read was laid off into eighty-five lots, covering an area of fifty acres. Only two appear to have remained without a purchaser. Among the persons who invested in them were such well-known men as Colonel William Digges, John Buckner, Thomas Jefferson, Colonel Edmund Jennings, Colonel William Cole, Dudley Digges, Thomas Chisman, Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., Charles Hansford, Edward Hill, and Governor Francis Nicholson.[2]

It is a fact worthy of note that a number of mechanics purchased lots at York, for the purpose, doubtless, of carrying on their trades in the town. Among them were

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 53.

[2] *Records of York County*, vol. 1690–1694, pp. 55, 84, Va. State Library. A full plat of the town is given on p. 84 of this volume of York records.

William Simson, a tailor, James Derbyshire, a smith, and Robert Harrison, a carpenter.[1] Several innkeepers also acquired holdings there. The trustees were Joseph King and Thomas Ballard.[2] The feoffees for the town laid off in Middlesex County were Mathew Kemp, Christopher Robinson, and William Churchill.[3] The site had been the property of Ralph Wormeley, who refused to convey it upon order of the court, and in consequence it was forfeited *ipso facto*. Wormeley was anxious to retain a remainder interest in the property, very probably because he anticipated the failure of the objects of the law, but the authorities refused to consent to this.[4] Among the purchasers of lots were Edwin and John Thacker, Cristopher Robinson, James Curtis, Robert Dudley, John Head, William Daniel, Maurice Cocke, and John Smith.[5] The feoffees for the town in Lancaster were David Fox and Robert Carter,[6] and the site was purchased from William Ball for thirteen thousand pounds of tobacco.[7] The owners of the lots included such men as Edwin Conway and Richard Willis. In Henrico, the feoffees for Bermuda Hundred were William Randolph and Francis Eppes, the consideration in the purchase of the land being twelve thousand pounds of tobacco.[8] Among those who acquired lots were Thomas Cocke, Edwin Stratton, Thomas Jefferson, and Edward Hatcher. The feoffees for Lower Norfolk under

[1] *Records of York County*, vol. 1691–1701, pp. 195, 211, Va. State Library.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. 1690–1694, p. 56.

[3] *Records of Middlesex County*, original vol. 1680–1694, orders April 10, 1690.

[4] *Ibid.*, orders Sept. 7, 1691.

[5] *Ibid.*, original vols. 1680–1694 and 1674–1694.

[6] *Records of Lancaster County*, original vol. 1687–1700, p. 66.

[7] *Ibid.*, original vol. 1686–1696, levy for the year 1691.

[8] *Records of Henrico County*, vol. 1688–1697, p. 236, Va. State Library.

the statute of 1691 were the same as under the Cohabitation Act of 1680; William Hislett succeeded William Robinson, who was in his turn succeeded by Samuel Boush. Among those who owned property in the town were such prominent citizens as Malachi Thruston, who built a residence and other houses on the six lots which he purchased,[1] William Knott, who also erected three buildings,[2] Peter Hobson, who lived in the town,[3] Bryant Cahill, Thomas Nash, Thomas Walke, and Francis Simpson. Several lots were purchased by mechanics. A lot having on it a house and garden was in 1693 sold for nine pounds sterling.[4] The records of 1699 show that Norfolk at that time had at least one wharf. The inhabitants in the previous year had been visited by an epidemic.[5]

Although the Act for Ports, which was as carefully considered as the Cohabitation Act of 1680, the policies of the two being practically identical, had been passed at the urgent suggestion of Nicholson, nevertheless, in the following year he openly expressed his dislike of the law, and sought, by increasing its unpopularity, to secure its repeal. This inconsistent conduct was attributed at the time to the influence of the English merchants, with whose trade in Virginia the Act for Ports interfered as much as the former Cohabitation Acts had done. In the session of 1692–93, the statute was suspended by the

[1] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1675–1703, f. p. 170.

[2] *Ibid.*, original vol. 1686–1695, p. 187.

[3] *Records of Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. p. 107.

[4] *Records of Lower Norfolk County*, original vol. 1686–1695, f. p. 233.

[5] *Records of Norfolk County*, original vol. 1695–1703, f. pp. 122, 154. The land on which Marlborough in Stafford County was laid off belonged to Captain Malachi Peale, with reversion to Giles Brent. The first feoffees were John Withers and Mathew Thompson, who conveyed twenty-three lots to different purchasers. See Case and Petition of John Mercer, *Ludwell Papers*, Va. Hist. Soc. Mss. Coll.

Assembly, after having been in operation during several months. The ostensible reason offered for this course was that the consent of the Government in England had not yet been obtained to its becoming a law. It was well known at the time, however, that the true explanation of the suspension was to be found in the complaints which the English merchants engaged in trade with Virginia had made as to the practical working of the statute, as well as in the inconvenience it entailed upon the people of the Colony at large.[1] In spite of this inconvenience, there was a marked disposition on the part of many citizens, in the interval during which the Act for Ports was in operation, to purchase lots from the feoffees of the different towns. This disposition continued even while the Act was supposed to be in a state of suspension. In Hampton, in 1694, for instance, one of the lots which had been laid off was transferred to a purchaser for seven pounds sterling.[2] The site of the new town at this place consisted of twenty-six half-acres, all of which appear to have been sold. Two years later, one of these lots was conveyed by Henry Royall to John Walker in consideration of six pounds sterling. Royall was bound under the terms of sale to build a house twenty feet in length; Walker claimed that this condition had not been fulfilled properly, and on this account, the amount of purchase money was cut down to five pounds and fifteen shillings.[3] In 1698, Hampton was a place of sufficient importance to require the appointment of a special constable.[4] Upon many of the lots, houses were erected and other improve-

[1] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 81.

[2] *Records of Elizabeth City County*, vol. 1684–1699, p. 458, Va. State Library.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[4] *Ibid.*, orders of court for 1698.

ments established by the owners. In order to protect the interests of persons whose titles to property had been affected by the Act of Suspension and also to promote building, it was provided in 1699,[1] eight years after the Act for Ports and six years after the Act of Suspension had been passed, that the trustees should confirm titles to lands bought previous to the latter Act or afterwards, just as if that measure had never been adopted. All vacancies in the board of feoffees were to be filled and all other powers conferred on these officers were to be exercised as if the Act for Ports had remained in force. So far, therefore, as this part of that law was involved, it continued to operate. In sustaining the right of the trustees to dispose of lots in spite of the suspension of the Act, it would appear that there was a desire among the members of the Assembly to encourage the growth of towns in the Colony as long as the movement did not affect the custom prevailing among the planters of exporting tobacco from their own wharves or receiving there all their imported merchandise. A still more striking evidence of the same desire was the grant of an extension of time to all who had ceased to build after the passage of the Act of Suspension. The Act for Ports was embodied in the code of 1705, the statement appearing in its preamble that the consent of the Government in England to its being put in operation had been obtained, but it was not long before it was again suspended through the influence of the English merchants trading in Virginia.[2]

After the restoration of Jamestown, the settlement does not seem to have numbered more than twenty houses.[3]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, p. 186.

[2] Beverley's *History of Virginia*, p. 88. It was repealed by Proclamation, July 5, 1710.

[3] *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. IV, p. 609.

It had, however, a representative in the Assembly. In the last decade of the century, what remained of the town was destroyed by fire, and it never recovered from the effect of the conflagration. In the period of its highest prosperity, which had always been small, it had hardly amounted to more than a geographical name, a name celebrated in history as designating a locality associated with thrilling and romantic events rather than the languishing hamlet that it was. It never rose to the dignity of a town in the modern sense of the word, and yet there are few deserted sites on the face of the globe which call up to the mind of the visitor, scenes more interesting in themselves or more far-reaching in their historical significance. It was here that the English-speaking people made their first permanent settlement on the North American Continent; this fact alone has given the spot an undying fame, a fame that will increase as the power of the Anglo-Saxon race in the Western Hemisphere expands. A quarter of a century after the conflagration, Jamestown consisted of three or four substantial inhabited houses and a great mass of brick rubbish.[1] To-day, hardly a trace of the rubbish remains.

When the town was laid in ashes towards the close of the seventeenth century, it was decided to remove the capital of the Colony to the Middle Plantation, as it was known, a place offering the advantages of a healthy and

[1] Hugh Jones' *Present State of Virginia*, p. 25. That the entire site of the town will not finally sink beneath the waves of the river will be due to the measures of protection which the National Government have adopted at the earnest solicitation of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. This organization is performing a noble and sacred work in rescuing so many of the ancient landmarks of the State from ruin, a work into which it has thrown a zeal, energy, and intelligence entitling it to the honor and gratitude of all who are interested in the history, not merely of Virginia, but of America itself.

temperate situation, a large number of wholesome springs, and the proximity of two creeks, one of which emptied into the James, the other into the York. As has been seen, the plan of abandoning Jamestown as the site of the capital had been contemplated on several occasions. It was always supposed, however, that the new seat of the colonial government would be one of the towns designated in the text of the Cohabitation Acts. The measure for incorporating the new capital was not introduced into the Assembly until 1699, and it was embodied in the code of 1705. The details of this statute illustrate the practical manner in which a new town was laid off in Virginia in the seventeenth century. The first provision was for the appropriation of four hundred and seventy-five square feet of land as a site for the state-house. An area of two hundred feet in its immediate neighborhood was to remain unobstructed in every direction. Two hundred and eighty-three acres and thirty half-poles of land were reserved for the general uses of the town. Of this, two hundred and twenty acres were designed as sites for houses, and fifteen acres and forty-four poles and a quarter were set apart for a roadbed to lead from the town to Queen's Creek, a stream flowing into York River. At the point where the road reached the creek, fourteen acres, seventy-one poles and a quarter of land were to be laid off for a port, and for a similar purpose, twenty-three acres, thirty-seven poles and a half of land were reserved on Archer's Hope Creek, the name of which was changed to Princess. This second port was connected with Williamsburg by a road for which ten acres and forty-two poles were allowed by statute. The appropriation of the ground upon which the town was built was made by a jury of twelve men drawn from the counties of York, New Kent, and James City, freeholders who were not related by blood or mar-

riage to the owners of the proposed site. Their appraisement was returned to the office of the Secretary, and immediately upon its reception the feoffees whom the Assembly had appointed, a Burwell, a Ludwell, a Harrison, and later a Byrd, being included among the number, were authorized to enter upon the land, their title to it becoming at once an absolute estate for inheritance in fee in trust for the object defined in the statute. This ownership, however, did not extend to any lot upon which a house was standing at the time the new town was incorporated. In such an instance the proprietorship remained with the original owner. The general plat was divided into lots half an acre in extent. One of the most important duties of the feoffees was to convey a title to the purchasers of these lots, who were to pay an advance of fifty per cent on the original cost to the Government, of each one. It was also provided that every buyer should in the space of twenty-four months erect on his property a dwelling twenty feet in width and thirty feet in length. Every house on the main street was to be built within six feet of the roadway and was required to be at least ten feet in pitch. If any person purchased two adjoining lots on the main street, and before the termination of a period of twenty-four months erected a house fifty-four feet long and twenty feet broad, or a brick or wooden house, having two stacks of brick chimneys and also cellars, forty feet in length and twenty in breadth, he was considered to have complied with the condition and could claim an absolute title to his property. He could claim the same title if he purchased an entire acre on the main street and one or more lots in the immediate rear, and erected in the course of twelve months, on the acre fronting on the main street, as much housing as would amount to five hundred square feet superficial measure on the ground plat for every lot

which he had bought. He was also considered to have fulfilled the condition of ownership if in the same length of time he completed in brick or framework, with brick cellars and chimneys, as much housing as would make four hundred square feet superficial measure on the ground plat for every lot included in his purchase. Six months after a building had been finished, the owner was required to enclose the lot or lots with a wall or paling, or with post and rails, and if he failed to comply with this order, he forfeited five shillings a month for every lot that remained open. The power of incorporating the town was reserved to the chief executive of the Colony. At any time he could issue his letters patent under seal, and unite all who had an interest in property in Williamsburg into one corporation, to be known as the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the city of Williamsburg, with the right to exercise full municipal authority.[1]

[1] Hening's *Statutes*, vol. III, pp. 197, 419.

CHAPTER XXI

CONCLUSION

In casting a brief retrospective glance over the period of time to which this inquiry has been confined, it is seen that by far the most momentous fact in the history of Virginia in the seventeenth century was the discovery, through Rolfe's experiment in 1612, that the soil of the Colony was adapted to the production of a quality of tobacco which was destined to prove valuable in the European markets. From the very beginning, this discovery thwarted one of the principal objects of the colonization of the new country: it deprived the people of England of all hope of obtaining from the Colony the commodities which they were importing from the Continent at an enormous outlay. Its most vital influence, however, bore directly upon the fate of the people of Virginia themselves. It shaped that fate absolutely. The manner in which this result was effected is soon described. Tobacco had not long been cultivated in the Colony before the virgin land was discovered to be necessary to its production in perfection, since there were no artificial manures in that age for retaining or restoring the fertility of the ground. As soon as the soil gave signs of exhaustion, it was allowed to relapse into coarse grasses and finally into forest; a new field was created by the removal of trees over an area selected in the primæval woods, which covered the greater part of every plantation, and this field was in turn abandoned when it became impov-

erished and the old course was again adopted for a new area of forest land. The whole effect of tobacco culture was to extend the clearings with the utmost rapidity in the ever-recurring need of a virgin soil. In this need, the system of large plantations had its origin. The tobacco planter was compelled to own a broad extent of land in wood, upon which he might encroach from year to year as the ground under cultivation lost its fertility. The advantage of possessing a wide range for his cattle, which were thrown on their own resources to gain a subsistence, was an additional motive in his appropriation of the soil.

The economic and moral influences springing from the system of large plantations thus built up were radical and supreme. Looking at that system from an economical point of view, it will be seen that it produced a spirit of wastefulness, which was fully excused by the prevailing abundance of all the necessaries of life. The whole country, even where it was most thickly inhabited, bore the aspect of a wilderness but slightly changed by the application of the axe and hoe. The methods of agriculture in the midst of such a profusion of natural wealth were, as might have been expected, rude and careless, a thoughtful and calculating treatment of natural resources being unnecessary as long as these resources were unbounded. If the estates had been limited in area, an intensive system would have been introduced. Greater care would have been employed in the use of the soil, and the forests would not have been so ruthlessly destroyed. The isolation of life which the large plantation created and promoted, discouraged the growth of towns and villages, not only by diminishing all tendency towards coöperation among the people, but also by simplifying the interests of each community. Each plantation stood apart to itself. It had its separate population; it had its own distinct round of occupations;

it had its own laborers, its own mechanics. It either produced its own natural and manufactured supplies or it imported them from abroad. There was no mutual dependence among plantations such as would have been observed if the estates had been small, which would have signified a division of labor.

The moral influence of the large plantation was equally extraordinary. It fostered habits of self-reliance in individual men; it assisted in promoting an intense love of liberty;[1] it strengthened the ties of family and kinship at the very time that it cultivated the spirit of general hospitality. Descended from the race of Englishmen, indeed, in many instances born under English skies themselves, the Virginians of the seventeenth century led a life, in consequence of the independent and manly existence permitted by the plantation system, that confirmed all the

[1] Edmund Burke, in his celebrated speech on Conciliation with America, attributed the intense love of liberty characteristic of the people of the Southern colonies to the presence of slaves. "There is a circumstance attending these colonies (Southern) which . . . makes the spirit of liberty still more high and haughty than in those to the Northward. It is that in Virginia and the Carolinas they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those who are free are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks amongst them like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and these people of the Southern colonies are much more strongly and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the Northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such in our days were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it and renders it invincible."

great qualities which had formed a part of their moral inheritance as scions of the English stock. It was a life that allowed the individuality of each planter to expand without obstacle. It is not surprising that in a great crisis like the American Revolution, when sufficient time had passed for Virginia to produce a population racy of her own soil, and moulded by her own material conditions, there should have sprung up a body of men of exalted merit in those departments of human affairs in which her general system was most calculated to develop talent, the sphere of military action and the sphere of statesmanship. The large plantations, by giving birth to a class of great landowners, increased the importance of leaders in the community. It promoted the aristocratic spirit not the less strongly because there were no legally defined ranks in society. It created a rural gentry as proud as that of England.

The system of large estates was the result of the special conditions of tobacco culture alone. It did not spring from the existence of slavery, although that institution, by furnishing a cheaper laborer, gave a strong impulse to the expansion of the area included in the tract of each plantation. The plantation system of Virginia was founded upon a permanent basis many years before the number of slaves in the Colony had reached a thousand. That system would have flourished if not a single African had been introduced into Virginia. In its principal aspects indented service was a form of slavery; the servant was merely a slave for a fixed number of years instead of for life; he was for the time being absolutely at the disposal of his master, his physical powers being as persistently directed to the removal of the forest and the cultivation of the ground. The increasing substitution of new servants for old, whose terms had come to an end, gave, on each large

plantation, a continuity to the labor system of white servants as unbroken as if it had been the labor system of slaves. The economic results were substantially the same; the moral and social influences of both were in many respects exactly similar.

Nevertheless, it is a cause for lasting regret that the African slave gradually took the place of the indented English servant. From a political point of view, the chief merit of the system of white laborers was that upon the expiration of their terms they became at once citizens who were identified in race with members of the ruling class. They could in time rise to a high position in that class if they had energy and ability, or could, if they themselves were lacking in these qualities, transmit the right to rise to their descendants, either immediate or remote. The complete homogeneity of the community was not affected by the presence of the white servant; in that servant the community possessed the most admirable instrument for the eradication of the primæval forest, the supreme task of the colonial age, because he was just as thoroughly and directly in the power of his master as the negro slave himself; at the same time, the public interests foresaw in him a free man, who was destined to the highest possibilities as soon as he had taken his place in the ranks of the community at large.

In all the advantages of citizenship, there was no essential difference between the immigrant who took up a tract of land on his arrival in the country and the son or grandson of the indented white laborer, or the indented white laborer himself after the end of his term, if he was able to acquire an equal amount of property. The discipline which the indented white servant was brought under, the very hardships to which he was exposed, and which he was compelled to endure, formed a school which was most

admirably adapted to prepare him to make his way successfully when he had become free. If the system of indented white laborers had prevailed down to the Revolution without the introduction of a single negro upon the soil of Virginia, there would have been found, after the establishment of the national independence, a community composed entirely of a homogeneous English stock. All the influences of the system of large plantations, to which the great personalities of Virginia in that momentous era are principally due, would have been in operation, because the system of white indented laborers, as the early history of the seventeenth century shows, would have promoted, equally with the institution of slavery, the expansion in the area of the separate estates.

It is impossible to speculate without interest upon the probable condition of Virginia after the Revolution if the planters had had only the white laborer to depend on. Would the importation of indented servants from England have continued? Hardly in the same volume, although the dearness of labor in the State, as in the Colony, would have led to the offer of strong inducements by the planters to procure foreign laborers, among whom the English would doubtless have been preferred. Under the new political régime, it was quite improbable that indented labor as known in the seventeenth century would have prevailed, because of its inconsistency with the spirit of the new institutions. The modern system of free labor would no doubt have sprung up, and this might have been a cause of serious embarrassment to the owners of great estates. The system of large plantations, as soon as artificial manures began to be used in the cultivation of tobacco, would probably have yielded to the influences of disintegration attendant on free labor; Virginia might have grown into close sympathy with the economic condi-

tions of the Northern States long before the present day had been reached.

We may acknowledge that the negro would in all probability have been introduced into the Colony in the seventeenth century, even if the soil had been incapable of producing the tobacco plant, but without that plant it is not likely that the institution of slavery could have obtained a permanent foothold in Virginia. In time it would have died out and the African population have remained an insignificant part of the community. The extension of tobacco culture signified the importation of African slaves in large numbers as soon as the facilities for procuring them had been increased. What that culture required was the cheapest form of labor, and this the negro furnished because he was a bondsman for life, for whom only a provision of bare subsistence had to be made. It was not until the end of the century that the means of importing slaves grew to be equal to the demand for them. The white indented servant and not the negro was the principal factor in the labor system in operation in the Colony in that age; and yet as far as slavery existed then, it had all the features of the same institution as observed down to the late war between the States. It cannot be said, however, that it had an important effect upon the economic conditions in the Colony; on the contrary, if not a single negro had been introduced into Virginia in the seventeenth century, the peculiar character of that community during this period would hardly have been altered, for the very simple reason that the chief influence forming and controlling it sprang from the special needs of tobacco culture, which were satisfied by the system of indented labor, that system, as has been pointed out, being merely one of temporary slavery.

It was not until the eighteenth century that the impres-

sion of slavery upon existing institutions grew to be profound; and yet that this impression was not essentially different from that which the early system of indented service produced, is shown in the general identity of the Virginian communities during the whole of the eighteenth century with the same communities previous to the middle of the seventeenth, when the number of slaves amounted only to a few hundred. Indeed, there is nothing in the history of the Colony in the seventeenth century more striking than the similarity between the conditions prevailing then under the system of indented labor, and those prevailing under the institution of slavery as soon as it became universal, down to the hour of its destruction, although two hundred years had passed, and a radical change of government had taken place. The explanation lay wholly in the fact that the requirements for the production of tobacco had during this long period remained practically the same. Although artificial manures had been introduced, the planters still preferred that virgin soil which could only be obtained by clearing away the forest. It was this fact still that maintained the system of large plantations in undiminished vigor.

No system of land tenure could have been adopted more admirably calculated to ensure the rapid settlement of the Colony than that which was in operation there throughout the seventeenth century. There were in that age no such facilities in ocean transportation as exist at present to diminish the outlay entailed by emigration from Europe to America. To-day, the expenses of the passage are so small that even the peasant can meet the unavoidable charges, and, in consequence, from all parts of the Old Country, men belonging to the lower ranks of life have flocked into the far West and taken up land. So costly was the voyage in the seventeenth century, that unless the importer of

laborers had been offered fifty acres for every one he introduced, but an insignificant proportion of that class which formed the principal basis of the head right would have found their way to Virginia, and in the absence of that class, the destruction of the forest on a great scale would have been deferred for many decades. The head right ensured an enormous immigration of agricultural laborers, the tract of fifty acres being looked upon as a partial compensation at least for the expense of bringing in the servant. The West was settled by an influx of population which, under the homestead law, became at once a community of small landowners, but in Virginia in the seventeenth century, the mass of the inhabitants were men and women who had no interest in the soil. In spite of the fact that the average size of the patent sued out was not very considerable, the face of the country was in possession of only a section of the people.

The valuable inducements held out to men of means to become landowners in Virginia led to the emigration of a large number of Englishmen who represented the most refined elements of the mother country, and who were therefore anxious to introduce into their new communities all of those economic conditions to which they were accustomed on their native soil. They were compelled to follow a new system of agriculture, because they had not only to overcome the obstacle of a heavy growth of forest, but also to adapt their action to the needs of the tobacco plant, but in all the other departments of their economic affairs they adhered as far as possible to the methods and customs of England. This was especially observable in the interiors of their dwelling-houses and in the general conveniences of their daily lives.

It is doubtful whether there was ever a new community that obtained its supplies, whether natural or manufactured,

with more ease and in greater abundance than Virginia in the seventeenth century. The Colony was very fortunate in the early years of its history in possessing a staple like tobacco, which, although it fluctuated in value and often sank in price below the cost of production, was nevertheless practically in constant demand in the foreign market. The Virginians, unlike the people of New England, were not compelled to seek purchasers for their main product; foreign shipmasters, with vessels loaded down with the greatest variety of merchandise, sailed directly up to the plantation wharves and there exchanged their goods for tobacco, or they placed these goods in the hands of factors who distributed them among the people in return for that commodity.

There have been few people enjoying a greater variety and abundance of food than the Virginians in the same age. The natural supplies which were not dependent upon their own production were to be found in greater profusion at that period than at any subsequent period, because the course of destruction had not been so prolonged. Beasts, birds, and fish were to be obtained in almost incredible quantities. There has never been a soil more admirably adapted to every species of vegetables than the soil of Virginia, even at the present day, after being under cultivation for nearly three hundred years. Although little attention was paid to fruits in the seventeenth century, there was nevertheless an abundant supply for use. The various cereals flourished also to an extraordinary degree.

An absence of great personalities was one of the most remarkable features of the history of Virginia in the seventeenth century after the dissolution of the Company. Nathaniel Bacon alone stands out upon that vast background in the proportions of an extraordinary man, but he was an Englishman and not a Virginian. It should be

remembered that great men of action are the products of critical times alone, for they require a motive and a stage. There was but one heroic tumult in the course of that long period; if no native Virginian took supreme control of affairs then, it was nevertheless the spirit of the native Virginian which sustained the youthful Bacon in his memorable enterprise. The highest powers of the most capable men of the age were directed to the accumulation of property. The country was new and was covered with forest: it required a concentration of thought and energy on the part of individuals to secure material success in the midst of such conditions, and a certain degree of such success was necessary if a foothold was to be won, and when won, maintained. In the beginning it was to be expected that the instincts of the people should be entirely fixed upon the improvement of their fortunes, and it followed that the leading men were those who were most successful in increasing their estates. The principal figures in the history of Virginia in the seventeenth century were men of the stamp of Samuel Mathews, George Menefie, Robert Beverley, Adam Thoroughgood, Ralph Wormeley, William Fitzhugh, Edmund Scarborough, and William Byrd, men who were important, not because they filled high offices, but because they had gathered together great properties by planting and trading.

To the generation of Virginians now living, the history of their community in the seventeenth century should be peculiarly interesting, for this was the period in which the foundation was laid for those conditions that the new régime will in time wholly destroy. All that is great in the annals of the Colony and the State was accomplished during the existence of these conditions; the character of the most illustrious soldiers and statesmen of Virginia were moulded by the old economic system, and her contri-

butions to the wealth of the world were made under its operation. The era upon which the commonwealth has entered will, no doubt, as time goes on, be found, in all of its principal aspects, antipodal to that long period, which, beginning in 1607, only ended in 1865. The most powerful influences of the seventeenth century, the formative age in the history of Virginia, tended directly, as has been seen, to the creation of great estates in land. At the present day, the most powerful influences tend directly to the disintegration of the system of large plantations, and this is observed even in those parts of the State where the population is compelled to rely principally upon tobacco for a subsistence. A virgin soil is no longer necessary to the production of that plant in perfection, artificial manures being now used in preparing land for its culture. Unforeseen influences, independent of those springing from the destruction of slavery, have hastened the drift towards the subdivision of the soil. The extension of the area under cultivation in the West, by lowering the prices of all agricultural products, including tobacco, has rendered hired labor unprofitable except where the soil is extremely fertile. In the present age, it is the landowner who works with his own hands who can in the long run follow the pursuits of farming and planting without a loss, and there is little reason to expect a reversion of this condition. Virginia in the twentieth century seems destined to present in its holdings a condition precisely the opposite of what was observed in the seventeenth, in the eighteenth, and in the greater part of the nineteenth. It will doubtless become a community of small landowners. That appearance of waste and neglect which accompanied the system of large plantations seems likely gradually to disappear as the area under cultivation comes to include practically the entire face of the country.

All the influences of the seventeenth century, as has been seen, were hostile to the building of towns and cities, and this can also be said of the system of large plantations as long as it lasted in its primitive vigor. All the influences of the new régime are promotive of the growth of centres of population. The influences of the old régime, as founded in the seventeenth century, were such as to exalt the importance of the individual; the influences of the new are such as to raise the importance of the mass. The isolated life of the large plantations of the past fostered very marked traits in the character of each person, and in the character of each community; the subdivision of the land, by increasing the population enormously and bringing the people into the closest and most constant intercourse, will tend to reduce the inhabitants to a more uniform type, and this process will be daily hastened by the ever-growing facilities of communication with the country at large.

It is safe to predict that under the new economic system, Virginia will no longer produce the same class of men as she did under the old. Her illustrious citizens in the past sprang from the rural gentry. A rural gentry is impossible under prevailing conditions; the remnant which has survived to the present day is so small as to be unworthy of consideration from a numerical point of view, and in a few years it will be altogether gone. All that is highest and noblest in the civilization of the State will find its representation in the town and not as of old in the country.

Virginia, which was once imperial in extent, has shrunk into the confines of a narrow State, and the time may come when the name will be used to designate a geographical entity of the past. This result cannot be reached until there has been a complete subversion of all those principles that her people have cherished and revered, the seeds

of which were planted in the western soil by their forefathers in the seventeenth century, and nourished by all the influences of the plantation system founded in that age. The simplicity of life, the manliness of spirit, the love of home and family, and devotion to liberty, promoted by that system, are the strongest pillars upon which the honor and safety of government can rest. It will be happy indeed if the future of the State shall show that all these virtues can flourish under the new economic order as fully as they flourished under the old, and that growth in her material wealth and the concentration of her population in cities shall not mean a decline in the character of her citizens as compared with the character of that extinct race of country gentlemen which produced Washington and Lee, and a long line of statesmen and soldiers, hardly less illustrious, whose achievements have, in the eyes of the world, conferred imperishable distinction upon the American name.

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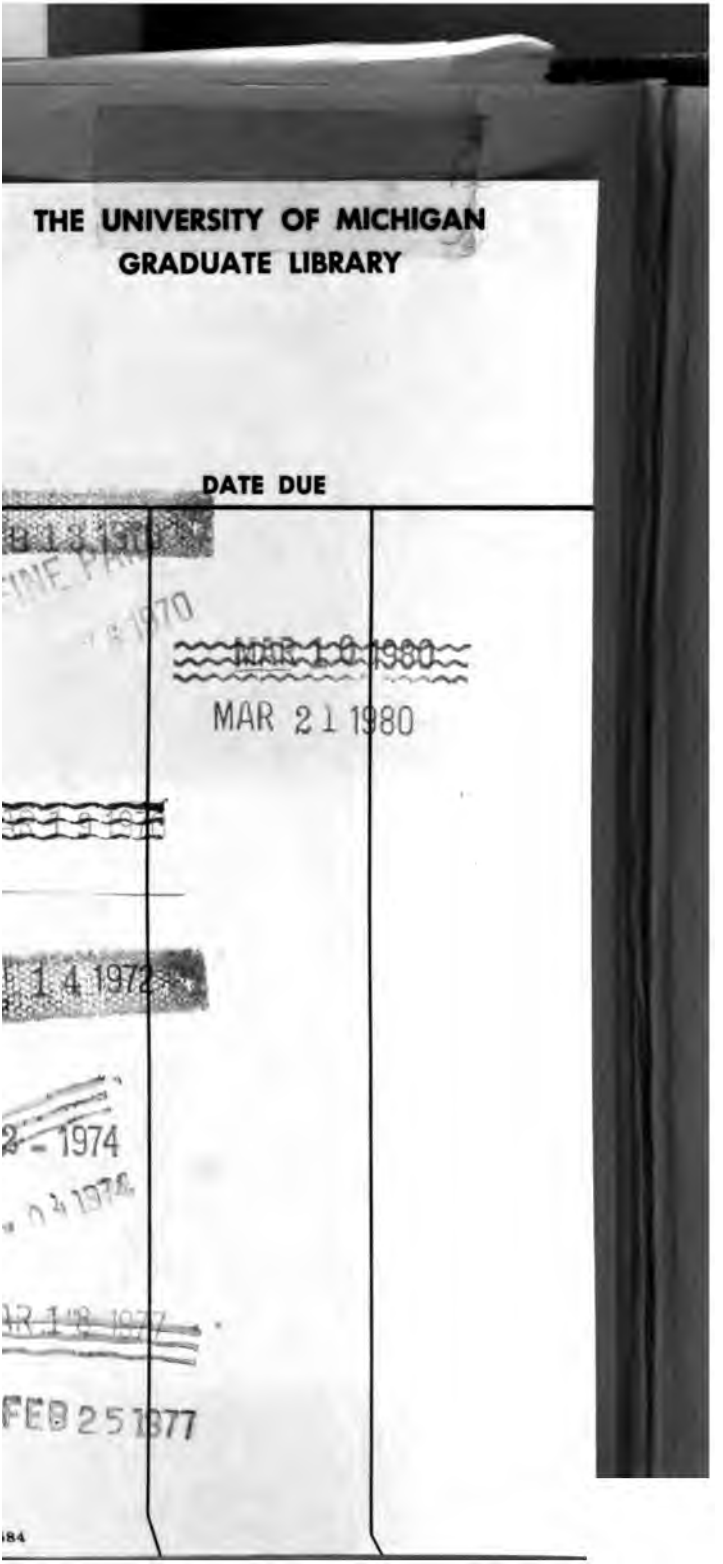
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